UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE FORT BELKNAP ASSINIBOINE OF MONTANA

DAVID RODNICK

A DISSERTATION

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

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A Study for the Applied Anthropology Unit of the United States Indian Service, Department of the Interior

PHILADELPHIA

1938

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To

FRANK G. SPECK
and
H. SCUDDER MEKEEL

Friends and Colleagues

PREFACE

The following study of culture-change as it affected the Assiniboine Indians of the Fort Belknap Reservation in northern Montana is based upon a stay of four and a half months during the summer and fall of 1935.

The history of the Assiniboine is one of their culture-change. Like many other plains tribes their cultural framework has taken on many modifications and even drastic change during the past three hundred years. At one time a rice-gathering people, they moved into the plains within historic times, influenced greatly by the cultures of their neighbors and the former dwellers of the lands which they took. In the 'fifties of the past century came the influences of a people more complex and more forceful who operated by restricting Assiniboine wandering and game. And with the beginning of the 'eighties came the reservation and the boarding school and all that they entail.

With all these factors, the Assiniboine can be said to have virtually lost the culture that was theirs in pre-reservation days. Although the Sun-Dance is still given on July fourth and a few of the older full-bloods do look back, nostalgically, to the days when the buffalo roamed the plains and racks were filled with drying meat, yet little of the old way of life remains. The aboriginal culture has been overtly lost by the group forty years and under, who form the vast majority of the reservation's population. The resultant sub-cultures formed may not be those found either among the urban or the rural dwellers of Montana, yet it would be difficult to say that they were Assiniboine in origin.

I have preferred to call this a study in culture-change, since the term acculturation has a limited connotation to me.

To Dr. Clark Wissler I owe the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Assiniboine. Part of the ethnological data gathered herein was made possible through a grant from the American Museum of Natural History. Dr. W. Duncan Strong made possible my appointment as collaborator to the Office of Indian Affairs, under whose auspices this study was done. To Dr. Frank G. Speck and Dr. H. Scudder Mekeel I am most deeply indebted, both for their moral encouragement and their friendship; this study is dedicated to both of them.

Section One

Historical Introduction, 1640-1887

The history of the Assiniboine before 1640 can only be conjectured. It is assumed that the Assiniboine represented the northernmost vanguard of a Siouan migration that had, over a period of centuries, come up from the southeast and spread into the present states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and eastern North Dakota. However, the scientific evidence for this migration must await future archaeological investigation.

It is Clark Wissler's opinion that this Siouan migration, with the Assiniboine and Yanktonai as its spearhead, might have split up an Algonquian migration that had been slowly moving from east to west; this Siouan wedge separating the Algonquian speaking Blackfoot, Piegan, Blood, Gros Ventre, Arapaho and Cheyenne from the eastern Algonquian speaking tribes.

It may also be assumed that the Assiniboine separated from the Yanktonai Sioux somewhere in the sixteenth century, since the former were already being mentioned by the Jesuits as a distinct tribe in 1640(1). Various traditions have been used by the Assiniboine to explain this breach from the Yanktonai.

Almost from the first the Assiniboine allied themselves with the Algonquian speaking Cree and throughout the rest of recorded history they formed a close union, influencing one another in culture, fighting the same enemies and migrating together.

When the trading post on Hudson's Bay was permanently founded in 1670, the Assiniboine together with the Cree were among the first tribes to trade with the French and later the English there; trade being carried on by these two tribes even before 1670, References show the domain of the Assiniboine at this time to be the region around Lake Winnipeg(2). Their early contact with European traders was evidenced by the remarks made by Father Allouez in 1656 that the Assiniboine had long been "discovered" by the French(3).

From the latter part of the seventeenth century on, trade with Europeans became a definite part of Assiniboine existence. The Assiniboine had come to Hudson's Bay to trade almost from the inception of English trading operations, obtaining the guns and metal utensils for which they had developed desires. The dichotomy in culture among the seventeenth century Assiniboine is gleaned from the history of the early trading at Hudson's Bay. There seems to be some basis in fact that the Assiniboine who traded at Hudson's Bay were the Woodlands Assiniboine. These knew the manufacture of the bark canoe(4), with which the Assiniboine of the plains never seemed to be acquainted.

The Assiniboine in company with the Cree had also been trading with the French around the northern shores of Lake Superior in the seventies and eighties of the seventeenth century. When Kelsey visited the Cree and the Assiniboine in 1690, he discovered an economic system of trade that had been in existence for some time: that the Cree and the Assiniboine were playing the parts of middlemen for the tribes of the plains, who were unaccustomed to water-craft. The Plains tribes, and especially the village tribes of the Missouri, were sending cultivated vegetables and articles of native manufacture in return for goods of European origin. Even La Verendrye in 1737 sensed the division of the Assiniboine into two economic spheres: The Woodland Assiniboine who knew how to hunt fur-bearing animals for the French traders; the Plains Assiniboine who had to be taught.

Repeated statements were made by La Verendrye concerning the trade route between the Mandan and the Assiniboine. La Verendrye remarked that the Assiniboine bought corn from the village tribes on the Missouri(5) and in return traded axes, knives, powder, bullets and guns that were received from the French and the English(6).

The full list of objects that the Assiniboine received from the French should include tobacco in twists, awls, butcher knives, gun-flints and spirits (7), the latter being an index of the later development of alcohol as an integral part of white trade. In return, the Assiniboine received from the village tribes cultivated vegetables such as maize and squash, colored buffalo robes, deer and buck skins, painted furs and feathers, worked garters, head bands and girdles (8).

The middle of the eighteenth century brought the horse to the Assiniboine. La Verendrye had noted in 1737:

> "The women and dogs carry all the baggage. The men carry only their arms (9)."

When La Verendrye visited the Mandan in 1738-9, in company with the Assiniboine, neither of these tribes had horses. In 1741, La Verendrye's son brought two horses from the Missouri, obtained, probably, from one of the southern tribes visiting the village groups. Later, in 1754, Anthony Hendry found horses among the western Assiniboine and the Blackfoot (10). The Assiniboine were one of the last plains tribes to receive horses, receiving them not from the Mandan to the south, but from the Blackfoot to the west (11).

The number of horses possessed by the Assiniboine were relatively few, as noted by the later travelers. The horse never wholly displaced the dog as an animal of burden. It never became an integral part of the patterns of warfare, as had the European gun, except as it was utilized as a fast means of escape when raiding enemy camps for horses. Economically, however, it became an index of wealth. Not only were horses desired for conspicuous display, but also as exchanges for guns, through trade with the Cree to the north (12).

That the influence of the fur traders upon the culture of the Assiniboine in the eighteenth century was negligible is noted by the fact that the main component in trade until the opening of the nineteenth century was that of alcohol. Alcohol was easier to transport over long distances than either guns or metal utensils. And as time went on the traders encouraged the Indians to develop a tolerance for the mixture of alcohol and water, called "Trade Liquor," in return for their fur, skins and meat. Actually, with the exception of guns, the Assiniboine had little need for the trader, since the buffalo supplied him with all his necessities. One gun with some ammunition and a few knives were all that were desired from the traders. Yet, the need on the part of the latter, to encourage a steady stream of furs and robes resulted in the instilling of new desires. Because of the difficulties of transportation these new desires had to take the form of easily transported goods which took up little room.

The influence of the fur trade upon the Assiniboine was begun to be marked in 1833. In dress Maximilian noted the influence of the white trader's stock of woolen goods in the articles of dress worn by the Assiniboine (13). Yet despite the proximity of the traders, the Assiniboine compared very unfavorably in material possessions with that of the surrounding tribes. Major Alexander Culbertson, the superintendent of Fort Union from its opening until the fifties of the nineteenth century, gave the following statistics in 1876:

> "The number of horses to the lodge possessed by the various tribes about the year 1830 was as follows:
>
> Flathead and Nez Perce.....50
> Crow.....15
> Piegan.....10
> Blackfeet and Blood..... 5
> Gros Ventre..... 5
> Assiniboine..... 2
>
> "The Assiniboine were regarded as the poorest Indians on the upper Missouri and were held in great contempt by surrounding tribes. The Crows were the wealthiest. At the time of the building of Fort Union (1829) it was estimated that the Assiniboine had only one gun to ten lodges, and even at the present day (1876) they are the most poorly armed Indians in Montana (14)."

In 1833 Maximilian had noted that the Assiniboine around Fort Union used few horses (15). Culbertson's reference to the few guns had by the Assiniboine is interesting. The Assiniboine received most of their guns from the Cree, who in turn received them from the traders. This trade was definitely in operation before 1830; Franklin noting it among the Assiniboine around Lake Manitoba (16). The journals of the early traders seem to show that most of the trade with the Assiniboine was in pemmican and meat, which was used by the employees of the various trading posts, and that little trade was had in beaver skins and other valuable furs. This was due to the fact that the Assiniboine had mainly buffalo robes to trade. And as, until the fifties and sixties, buffalo robes had little commercial value, those tribes more fortunately located in regard to valuable furs could procure far more guns and trade goods than the Assiniboine.

Guns were most essential to the Assiniboine, considering the amount of warfare in which they engaged. They were continuously attacking or being attacked by the plains Sioux,

Piegan, Blood, Crow, Cheyenne, Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara.

The Assiniboine lived in the eighteenth century in the section stretching west of Lake Manitoba in Canada to the south branch of the Saskatchewan River. At the opening of the nineteenth century they gradually moved down to the Missouri and thence westward. By 1825 they were firmly established in American territory. During the year 1839 sixty tipis of Assiniboine came over from Canada to join their relatives around Fort Union, at the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers (17). It was at this time that they began to hunt south of the Missouri, near the Yellowstone River, but conflict with the Crow forced them to withdraw from that territory after a few years. It is interesting to note that it was this territory south of the Missouri that was later sold by the Assiniboine to the United States government in the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851.

Trading activity was becoming more marked by 1850. The articles of white manufacture that had become indispensable during this period were the gun, metal knives, kettles, awls, fire-steels and metal tools for the dressing of hides (18). The luxury commodities introduced were scarlet blankets, calico shirts, woolen shirts, white "one to three point" Hudson's Bay blankets, neckerchiefs, cotton trousers, black fur hats, scarlet laced chief's coats, silver hat bands, black silk handkerchiefs and silver arm bands (19).

The influence of the traders, as individuals, was slight at this time. They married Indian women, but the offspring came more under the tutelage of the mother than the father. In order to circumvent the competition arising from the entrance of numerous trading companies, as the Missouri River became navigable, traders were compelled to become "amateur" Indians. They learned the language of the tribe with whom they were trading and in general went out of their way to assimilate themselves to the behavior of the Indians (20). This was necessary for the reason that the traders, being interested in profit, had no desire, as did the missionaries, to encourage culture change among the Indians. In fact, most of the traders were antagonistic toward any attempt to change the economic basis of plains Indian life.

Indirectly, the fur trade encouraged polygyny among the Assiniboine. The acquisition of goods, such as guns and metal tools necessitated the sale of surplus skins. However, an Indian with but one wife could not amass many surplus skins. The amount of labor involved in preparing one skin for the trade ranged from three to seven days of hard labor; add to this the care of a family and the ordinary domestic duties of the woman and the economic base for the necessity of more than one wife can be seen. A good hunter, or warrior, who was desirous of rising in the social scale through the giving of feasts and the distributing of horses, would find it almost impossible to do so without the aid of more than one woman. Polygyny among the Assiniboine was naturally pre-white, but the accentuation of this pattern in its economic form was undoubtedly due to contact with white trade.

The treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851 marked the first cession of lands by the Assiniboine. The boundaries of the ceded lands being as follows:

> "Commencing at the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Mussel-Shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the headwaters of Big Dry Creek; thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning (21)."

Besides the cession of lands, this treaty had also an effect upon the political organization of the Assiniboine. Previous to 1851, no single chief of paramount importance existed for the tribe as a whole; chieftainship being held by a number of individuals in the various bands. At Fort Laramie, one of the band chiefs, Crazy Bear, was elevated by the treaty commissioners to the post of tribal chief.

A treaty was made with the Blackfoot some four years later, in which the land ranging from the mouth of the Milk River to a point near present-day Havre was made common hunting territory for both the Blackfoot and their allies and the Assiniboine. In the ten years following 1855 the Blackfoot began to frequent this territory less and less and at the end of the period abandoned the territory to the Assiniboine as a hunting ground. With the Blackfoot moving to the south and the north these lands were left solely to the Gros Ventre, Assiniboine and the so-called River Crows. In 1868, the River Crows left to join the Mountain Crow, leav-

ing the territory to the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine. It was within the boundaries of this territory that the Fort Belknap reservation was carved in 1873.

The Milk River reservation was sub-divided in 1873. The eastern part formed the Fort Peck reserve, with Lower Assiniboine and Yanktonai Sioux as residents, while the western part was formed into the Fort Belknap reservation, (not to be confused with the present day reservation. The agency for the old Fort Belknap reservation was at a site below present-day Chinook, Montana) with the Gros Ventre and the northern Assiniboine.

By 1877 many of the Assiniboine on the Fort Peck reservation had settled down to log cabins and farming. Their brethren on the Fort Belknap reservation were not as far along in the assimilation of white patterns, since moving about continuously in search of game they came into little contact with their agency. Their supplies were received both from the trader, in return for buffalo robes and from the agent in the form of annuities. Buffalo were still plentiful at this time for the Fort Belknap Assiniboine and, as a consequence, little change had been effected in their culture. Missionary influence had not started as yet and no pressure had been brought to bear to have them settle down in log cabins and to engage in farming operations.

The contrast between the Assiniboine of Fort Peck and Fort Belknap was most marked at this time. At Fort Peck the Assiniboine were going through a transitional period, to be later undergone by the Fort Belknap Assiniboine. In 1879 the buffalo were too far south for the Assiniboine on Fort Peck and as a consequence they had to be fed from the commissary all that winter. The lack of a regular food supply made them all the more receptive to the idea of farming. And this, coupled with the growing number of whites entering their reservation, caused a realization on the part of several of the band chiefs that a change in economic life would soon be necessary. And though the number of Fort Peck Assiniboine who had turned to farming were few in proportion to the total number on the reservation, it was, at least, indicative of a definite trend.

An attempt was made to introduce the Assiniboine on Fort Belknap to farming in 1881, but the attempt proved unsuccessful, although the hunting results of that year showed a great decrease over that of the previous year.

The end of the buffalo were hastened by the numbers of whites who came into the Assiniboine country, beginning with 1882, to hunt this animal for its hide. Vast quantities of buffalo were killed by these hunters, leaving the plains covered with rotting carcasses. By 1883, the buffalo became extinct and with the end of the buffalo as a game animal came the beginning of a new period for the Assiniboine. The Assiniboine on Fort Belknap were compelled to settle down permanently in 1884-5. In that year over a hundred and fifty log cabins were built by the Assiniboine. Farming was still in its initial stage, with most of the garden work performed by the women, a transfer of the pattern whereby women did the gathering of all vegetable food. The vast majority of the Assiniboine were, however, "still clinging tenaciously to many of their old usages." And in that year, the Northern Band of Assiniboine came down from Canada to settle permanently on the old Belknap reservation.

Pressure was now being brought to bear by the local Belknap agency against the performance of the Sun-Dance. No pressure was placed against any of the other dances.

The first day-school on the Fort Belknap agency was started in 1886 and in that same year the Saint Paul's Catholic Mission was opened in the southwestern part of the reservation. The Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine were now beginning to move into the present day confines of the Fort Belknap reservation, settling along the Milk River, at Hays around the mission and at Lodgepole, eleven miles east of Hays.

Cattle were first introduced to the Assiniboine in 1887, in an attempt to turn them into stockmen. Three hundred and seventy cows, calves and bulls were distributed at that time to the more influential Assiniboine. This attempt ended in failure for the following reasons:

> "They gave cattle to old Indians who knew nothing of the care of cattle. They let them loose in numbers. They didn't feed the cattle in those days. They didn't brand their cows and calves and a lot of cattlemen on this reservation, as soon as they saw a slick or a maverick, they branded it (22)."

The year 1887-8 marked the period of the beginning of the assim-

ilation of the Assiniboine. The economic base of the old culture was gone, through the final slaughter of the buffalo during the winter of 1884. A new start had to be made in farming, an occupation in which the Assiniboine were totally unprepared. Schools and missions were being established to make in-roads into what remained of the framework of the old culture. Whites were coming in numbers to take up homesteads and to intermarry with the Assiniboine women. Contact with whites and the schools were to bring into being among the younger generation an acceptance of the judgment value that anything tinged with the culture of the past was "savage" and inferior. Those who through childhood contacts were attempting to keep up with some of the forms of the old were put on the defensive and were compelled to reinterpret the symbolism of the religious ceremonies into terms that were part of white culture. At the same time the patterns of white culture that were part of the home environment of many of the mixed-bloods were to influence many of the full-bloods, through the prestige of many of the former.

One important factor making for change on the Fort Belknap reservation was the lack of opposition on the part of the important chiefs and warriors. In fact, most of the Assiniboine desired change. Many were the old and influential Indians who brought, voluntarily, their children to the reservation boarding school; this, that the children might learn the ways of the whites, so as to be of benefit to the tribe. The Male, the last of the Assiniboine chiefs, was a strong believer in the adoption of the most efficient farming methods. Although unable to speak English, he made a trip to Washington in the early years of the reservation in order that irrigation facilities be increased on the reservation.

The opposition that was to develop on the part of the Assiniboine against government domination was not due as much to the latter's partisanship in the matters of religion and white behavior patterns, as to the blundering manner in which these policies were carried out by the various Indian agents. They were irritated by the fact that simple and harmless religious dances seemed to assume sinister proportions when viewed by the agents. Too many of the agents appointed were men of dictatorial mien who received a certain satisfaction in being able to control the lives of the many under them, with ensuing results of intense personality conflict between their charges and themselves. This formed the emotional base for the later Indian complaints on the reservation. And then, the opinionated attempts to "develop" the character of the Assiniboine, as in the later case of Major Logan, led to a type of economic experimentation ending in failure that did not result in raising the economic standard of those living on the reservation. These attempts by various agents to carry out their own particular economic philosophies tended to confuse the Indians, with each consequent failure having an adverse effect upon the morale and incentive of those who were anxious to live the economic standard of the white. What none of these agents seemed to realize was that cattle-raising was the only economic salvation for the group living in the semi-arid lands of north central Montana.

Similarly, the reaction on the part of the Assiniboine to the government schools was due, not to the type of instruction, but to the severity of the discipline. The Assiniboine never whipped their children and, as a result, they became highly indignant when asked to return their children who had run away from school, because of whippings received.

However, the real problem that was to develop in the transitional period toward white assimilation was the initial formation of personalities with low morale, rebellious and psychologically handicapped through the rapid changes occurring within the culture, in the formation of several sub-cultures and by the mental feeling of oppression caused by the policies of the Indian Office.

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6. Burpee, op. cit., p. 160.
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12. E. Cones (ed.), New Light on the History of the North-West. Journals of A. Henry the Younger (New York, 1899), Vol. 2, p. 513.
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16. John Franklin, Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, 1819-22 (London, 1823), p. 107.
17. E. T. Denig, Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930), p. 403.
18. Ibid., p. 465.
19. Ibid., pp. 587-9.
20. W. Matthews, Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians (Washington, 1877), p. 30.
21. C. Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States (Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900), p. 786. It is interesting to note that no evidence exists showing that the Assiniboine occupied this ceded territory before 1851.
22. Simon Firstshoot, informant.

The Period of Assimilation, 1888-1935.

Although the documentary evidence for the exact process in which the Assiniboine culture was changed is still incomplete, yet trends can be taken as indices of the manner in which the Assiniboine were to change their way of life from a buffalo-hunting nomadic people into a cattle and hay raising group with a settled abode. The period lasting from the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851 to the opening of the present day Fort Belknap reservation in 1888 was primarily one of economic change. The buffalo and other types of game had practically disappeared with the opening up of the Assiniboine territory to railroads and white settlement. The date of this beginning of white settlement can be placed a little after 1864, the first discovery of gold at Virginia City. Beginning with the seventies cattle came into Montana from the south, under the direction of cow-men from the south and in the first part of the nineties the Great Northern Railway was completed through Montana.

This period saw little change in the superstructure of Assiniboine culture, excepting its economic base. Horse stealing expeditions still continued even towards the end of this period, despite the stern measures adopted by the agents to abolish this practice. The religious forms still continued and the influence of the missionaries was still slight. The various societies still continued to function, despite the official attitude towards them and on Fort Belknap, at least, the Sun Dance was being held every year.

Whatever change did occur, took place in its most striking form in the last ten years of this period. The change that was to occur in the period following the settlement on the reservation was to be most marked in contrast with the pre-reservation days. This reservation period was to bring about an almost complete transformation of Assiniboine life with a trend definitely toward eventual white assimilation. In the period before 1888, acculturation to white economic patterns, where it did exist, was minor and fragmentary. In the period following, it was to be almost complete. Adaptation of white culture, or behavior patterns, was virtually non-existent before reservation days; the methods operating for the inculcation of a frame of reference of white origin, through a system of formalized education, being still unformulated on the old Belknap Agency. In the period following an education at government schools was to be compulsory for each child born on the reservation; with a definite trend being later observable toward the utilization of opportunities for higher education.

Various factors were to operate in bringing about this cultural change. One important factor was to be the voluntary desire for change on the part of the Assiniboine. Another was to be the economic and police pressure exerted by agency officials. Others would include the lack of psychological satisfaction in the old culture for the younger generation, the acceptance of the supremacy of white culture and the absence of any strong barrier, on the part of the whites around the reservation, against cultural, as well as biological assimilation of the Assiniboine.

At the same time, acculturation of cultural forms taken from surrounding tribes was to continue. Various dances and religious complexes were to be adopted and then changed within the cultural framework. Adoption of white patterns was also to occur as part of the preliminary trend toward assimilation.

****

On May 1, 1888 Congress ratified an agreement made in January, 1887 between the Northwestern Commission and the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine Indians cutting by more than half the former Fort Belknap reser-

vation. Several millions of acres were then thrown open for settlement. The new reservation had the same dimensions as the reservation in the twentieth century, with the exception of an area of about fifty thousand acres in the Little Rocky Mountains which was later sold to the government as a national forest.

In an attempt to get the Indians established on the reservation, the government issued window-glass, hardware, in the form of hinges and locks, and quilts. At the same time the more influential Indians were given small iron stoves. Those who were not so fortunate in receiving an iron stove made mud stoves. These mud stoves were formed by placing four sticks in a quadrangular square, daubing these with clay so they would not burn and allowing a hole in the roof to carry away the smoke. Later, a clay chimney was added through the roof.

The cabins that were built at that time were small one-roomed affairs with earth roofs and floors. In winter time they proved uncomfortable due to over heating and poor ventilation. No one lived in these cabins during the summer; canvas covered tipis being used instead.

Virtually all the Indians were supported by government issues of rations. Deer hunted in the winter and berries and roots gathered in summer helped to increase the food supply for the various families. Annuities in the form of clothes, chairs, bed quilts and blankets were added for their self-sufficiency.

The agency boarding-school was started in 1890 and by the next year over seventy-eight pupils had been enrolled. Friction developed between the Catholic Mission and the agency. The former claiming that the agent was intimidating the Indian parents to send their children to the agency boarding school in preference to the mission. This was denied by the agent who replied, "If the parents choose to send their children to the agency schools in preference to the Mission school, I don't think it my duty to compel them to return them to the latter..."

An attempt was made that year to have parents send their children to the new Fort Totten boarding school. The Indians were willing to have their children attend the agency boarding school, but they were antagonistic to the idea of sending their children away, where they would be unable to see them over a length of time. The plan was, as a result, abandoned and plans were made instead, to increase the capacity of the agency schools.

Eight hundred head of cattle were distributed to the Indians in 1891, in order to encourage them to take an interest in cattle-raising. However, difficulties arose in the care of these cattle that were not mainly due to the faults of their owners. Although the pattern of care of cattle was similar to the pre-reservation handling of horses, cattle proved less hardy with the same care as horses. Horses had been left to forage for themselves, pawing up snow in winter to get at the grass beneath. When the cattle were turned loose in winter time they either starved or froze to death. Since these cattle were not branded, they were stolen by whites who branded these cattle as their own. Coupled with this was the fact that Crees were coming down from Canada killing beef belonging to the Indians and the whites on the reservation. Nor was this killing of cattle limited to the Cree. Assiniboine on the reservation were secretly killing beef belonging to their neighbors.

Growing of crops was also engaged in by some of the Assiniboine. Thus in 1891, the agency bought forty thousand pounds of hay from the Indians at a rate of one and a half cents a pound and some thousand pounds of potatoes at a rate of three-quarter cents per pound. The first crop was bought for the agency horses, while the second was for the use of the pupils at the agency boarding school. Agriculture was too alien in pattern for most of the Assiniboine and where crops were grown, the women did most of the cultivating and planting, a practice which the agency officials did their utmost to abolish.

The practice of hiring out as labor was somewhat prevalent in 1892. In that year over one hundred and fifty male Indians hired themselves out to neighboring ranch men. The agent again reiterated his views in his annual report to the Commissioner in that year, urging that the Indians be made into stockmen, pointing out that the Indian "takes a great pleasure in riding around looking after his stock. He also understands the care of animals and feels an interest in the business....The country, too, is far better adapted for stock-raising than farming on account of its aridity, hence my impression that the future independence of the Indian rests mainly on the hope of his becoming a successful herdsman." At the same time many of the Assiniboine had located on land that they expected to take in severalty when the

allotment system should prove feasible of operation.

On the social side, the Ghost Dance came to the Gros Ventre from the Arapaho about 1890, lasting for about two years. Some of the Assiniboine engaged in the dances, but not in the beliefs. The name given to the Ghost Dance by the Assiniboine was Watcegive Wacipik or the Praying Dance. No special clothes were worn in this dance and the dancing was engaged in by both the men and women. None of the Assiniboine seemed to recall many of the features of this dance, pointing out that the dance did not make much impression upon the Assiniboine and that it was dropped. This in spite of the fact that no pressure was exerted from the agency, who were, at that time, completely unaware of its existence on the reservation.

Before the Assiniboine had settled down on the Belknap reservation they had received the Tea Dance from the Blackfoot. This Tea Dance was revived in 1891. The old Tea Dance was actually the Drunken Dance, where both men and women danced in one spot, later drinking large quantities of tea. During the drinking of the tea they pretended to be intoxicated, bantering with one another as they felt drunkards should do. The Assiniboine changed this dance in 1891. The name was still K'tunc'watci, or Drunken Dance, but five war bonnets were made for the chiefs of the dance, both men and women, and the dancers circled around the lodge with the men on one side and the women on the other. This changed dance immediately spread to the surrounding Blackfoot, Crow, Cheyenne and Sioux. At the same time a variation of the Tea Dance in the form of the Tauco'watci, or Dance-Without-Blankets, was started in 1891, but this variation failed to spread.

The Fiddler's Dance, or the Barn Dance came in about this time. This dance was derived from the whites who lived on the reservation. The music was played on white musical instruments, with a master of ceremonies shouting out the calls. Only the mixed bloods took part in this dance, the full-bloods not liking it because of its foreignness. The Square Dance and the quadrille also came in about this time, being mainly, again, the dances of the mixed bloods and the whites.

The attempt on the part of those in charge of the Indians to forcefully do away with the patterns of the old culture was begun, at this time, through the education of the young. At the mission school and at the agency boarding school, the use of either Assiniboine or Gros Ventre by the pupils was forbidden. And in fact the agent noted it as one of the features to be commended at the mission school:

> "A very satisfactory feature of this school is the utter suppression of the Indian tongue during its sessions and the consequent acquirement of our language by the pupils."

This feature was adopted by the agency boarding school in 1892 along with rigid rules to keep the young children from too much contact with their elders:

> "The pupils will be kept in the boarding school and will not be allowed to absent themselves therefrom on any account. Their parents and guardians will be allowed to see them on proper occasions, but no interruption of study will be allowed."

The Assiniboine still remember the manner in which they were punished for the speaking of Assiniboine while at the boarding school. The young children were punished by having their clothes taken away from them, so as to be able to participate in extra-curricular activities. The older children had to write two hundred times on the black-board, "I must not speak Indian. I must not speak Indian etc."

At the boarding school, half the day was spent in classes; the other half working in the fields, or acting as apprentice for the learning of a trade. The discipline was strict and whippings were often given for infractions of rules. The unfortunate aspect of the reservation boarding school was the way in which it attempted to break the spirit of the young. Rather than develop self-confidence, it aided, instead, in the adoption of a very submissive attitude on the part of the young pupils toward their teachers. Due to a lack of self-confidence, engendered by these school policies, a feeling akin to fear of doing new types of work was to develop as part of the later reservation personality.

By 1895 the agency boarding school was filled to capacity and it was soon found necessary to turn away some of the older pupils in order to give instruction to the younger ones who had arrived at school age.

> "There has been no trouble in getting the Indians to put their children in this school, as they

all seem to realize the benefit that the children derive from same. They bring the children up and offer them to be put in school of their own free will as soon as they arrive at the school age..."

Besides the use of the school as a means to wean the Assiniboine away from the aboriginal culture, the police force was also used by the agency. The police from 1893 on, reported all cases of polygamy so that suitable action against these violators of reservation law could be taken by the agent. No Indian court existed on the reservation in the nineties, so that full power for punishment rested in the hands of the agent. Rations were withdrawn for a definite period of time from those who failed to adhere to the white custom of monogamy. At the same time, it was the duty of the police to report to the agent all cases of customs and dances, or ceremonies, that had been forbidden to the Indians by official policy. As a result of these policies, two categories were to arise on the reservation: the white man's way, or the good, and the Indian way, the bad. One denoted "intelligence," while the other was connotative of "savagery" and was felt to be shameful.

For the agent, the wearing of white clothes was an index of the way in which the assimilation of white patterns was taking place. In the report of 1897 it was reported that fully seventy-five per cent of the Indians wore "white man's" clothes. Shoes and shoe packs were part of the equipment given to each child, so that the young born on the reservation would prefer shoes to moccasins. Moccasins were to be an index of the degree to which the old culture was being held by the pre-reservation generation.

This attempt to change the Assiniboine culture was worked primarily through the young. Those who had passed their twenties at the opening of the reservation in 1888 were still under the aegis of their childhood culture. These failed to pick up a working knowledge of English and many of the white behavior patterns, and they were the ones who were to carry over whatever remnants remained of the pre-reservation culture. The problem of trying to trace the exact process in which the Assiniboine culture was changed is made much simpler by dividing the group into two categories; the generation born on the reservation as the carriers of the new culture, with its patterns of acculturation, and the age group born before 1888 as the carriers of the variants of the culture on the aboriginal plane.

The system of annuities was continued until about 1898, when it suddenly ceased. Heretofore, annuities were given in the form of stoves, mattresses, blankets and hardware to be used in the building of log cabins. With the ceasing of annuities, the Indians were expected to furnish their own supplies through their own labor. However, the system of rations was still continued for the old, the sick and the invalid.

With the ceasing of annuities, stock was again issued to the Indians in an attempt to make them self-supporting through their own efforts. Stock was again issued in 1901, with a number of Assiniboine learning in rapid manner the care necessary for cattle. Black Bull, an old Assiniboine, soon became the largest of the Assiniboine cattle owners. He was the first to grow and store hay for the winter feeding of his cattle. My interpreter, Simon First Shoot received, at that time, four head of cattle, which was to be his initial start in cattle raising. No further issues of cattle were made after 1901.

In connection with the ration system, the local agency would buy from two hundred to four hundred cattle per year from the Indians for use in the weekly rations. Out of a total population of over twelve hundred on the reservation in 1901, over four hundred and eighty were on the ration roll. The rations as given out weekly were as follows:

Beef	--2 lbs.
Flour	--1 lb.
Coffee	--5 lbs. for 100 rations
Sugar	--14 lbs. for 100 rations
Baking Powder	-- 1 lb. for 100 rations
Soap	-- 1 lb. for 100 rations
Salt	-- 1 lb. for 100 rations
Prunes	--14 lbs. for 100 rations

These rations were insufficient for the proper nourishment of those who were unable to add to their diet through their own efforts. Added to this was the fact that numerous young men were living on the rations of their elders. This difficulty was in part solved by the prevailing pattern of sharing the food of those who had a little to spare. The ration system was also indirectly responsible for the failure of the Assiniboine to become economically self-sufficient through cattle. Un-

til 1906 it was a common practice to kill one another's cattle whenever the Assiniboine felt deprived of sufficient food. As a result the herds increased very slowly and labor spent in growing hay for cattle was not compensated for by the continuous disappearance of members of their herds. The agency soon described this failure for the Indian cattle to increase as an example of the lack of incentive on the part of their owners. The real reason was the failure to supply the Assiniboine with enough food to give them a start in stock-raising. Hunger not only proved a stimulant in the trend toward assimilation, but it also operated as a deterrent in the adoption of economic patterns. Continuous under-nourishment on the part of the Assiniboine could not, under any circumstances, go hand in hand with the thrift required to build up a cattle herd through the years.

The reservation was unfenced in 1902, with the result that thousands of outside cattle wandered into the reservation before round-ups. At the yearly round-up, numerous cattle belonging to Indians were found to have strayed off the reservation; with those that were unbranded never to be returned. As a consequence, one of the first acts in office of Major Logan was to urge that funds be made available for the fencing of the reservation.

The number of cattle that had been issued to both the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine the year previous came to fifteen hundred head. The economic possibilities in the future for both these tribes were referred to in a letter to the Commissioner by Major Logan in 1902:

> "The Gros Ventres are a fairly enterprising lot and seem to be taking to agricultural pursuits in a satisfactory manner, yet it will be a number of years before they will be self-supporting. The Assiniboines on the other hand, do not take so kindly to the plow and harrow, but seem better adapted to stock raising, herding, etc. However, some of them have this year raised fair crops of hay, oats and potatoes. The recent issue of cattle has acted upon both tribes somewhat in the nature of a stimulant and they are now making a strong effort to secure enough hay to carry their stock through the winter months."

That the economic reports of the tribes on the Fort Belknap Reservation had been put in too rosy a light by agents who desired that the Indian Office recognize their services were evidenced by a report written to the Commissioner in 1902 by the Special Agent McNichols:

> "....Three-fourths of these Indians are practically destitute and always have been. The office has been persistently misled as to the resources of these Indians by means of bogus vouchers representing them to have sold the government hay, oats, lumber etc., when they had none for their own use, much less for sale. Except for a small tract of irrigated land at People's Creek sub-station and a few small irrigated ranches in the foothills, owned by squaw-men, these Indians have as yet produced nothing, nor have they had any opportunity to grow crops. The immediate facts are that outside of wages paid for work on the ditch, these Indians have almost no present resources and for at least two years to come will have none...."

Although the later policy of Major Logan was to be that of encouraging the Fort Belknap Indians to engage in wheat farming and to do away with stock raising, his policy on entering office in 1902 was the direct antithesis of his later one. His letters and reports in his earlier years show an attempt to continue the trend of making stockmen of the Indians. As he began to feel that the Indian Office regarded him as a man "who could get results" and one who could put the Indians on their feet, a change in policy resulted. The building of "character" was to be his prime motive, later on, in his attempts to make sugar-beet growers and wheat farmers out of his charges. Through all of Logan's letters run the theme of work, to encourage industry and thrift on the part of the Indians that they might eventually become self-reliant and economically independent. His policies can be evaluated only in the light of his goal; whether or not he succeeded in raising the economic level and the morale of his reservation wards. Present-day reservation Indian opinion is divided on that score.

His policies, however, were important in the sense that they attempted within a few years to remold the Indian personality and culture; the goal being the white standard prevalent at that time. No agent, either before, or after him, has been so disliked by the generation that remembered him. His tactics were high-handed and dictatorial and few of the Indians can rid themselves of the suspicion that his aggressive mannerisms were but a screen to hide

a grafting conscience.

In 1903 Major Logan wrote:

"These people have demonstrated one thing to me and that is that there is no use trying to make them grow grain. Therefore, I am from now on paying more attention to raising hay for the market, also the cereals for the winter use; make them husband their cattle and by these means outline a definite line of work. The great trouble is the winter months when there is no work that they can earn a living from."

And a little later in the same year:

"If I could only teach these devils a little foresight; make them look ahead and provide for the winter, they would soon be in good shape. As it is now just as soon as the hay is cut they want to sell it. The same with their gardens; the minute potatoes are ready to dig out of the ground they come and are sold. It keeps the Agent and Farmers stepping all the time to make them put anything aside for the winter months. However, just as soon as the old buffalo-hunting Indian dies off the later generation will show a decided improvement and not till then."

Various other changes were occurring on the reservation during the stay of Major Logan. The boarding school at the agency was increasing its enrollment of pupils and over one hundred and thirty were attending that school in 1902. Others were being sent to boarding-schools outside the reservation, such as Fort Shaw. Difficulty was also being had in the placing of these graduates in profitable work, since lack of opportunity made it impossible for the adolescent student to make his own living either on the reservation or in the vicinity.

Attempts were made also to isolate as much as possible the students from their parents and elder relatives:

"It is the custom to keep all the larger girls at this school during vacation, in order to avoid the demoralizing influence of camp life. We have over one hundred of cattle and other stock to look after, besides the garden and other work and it is therefore necessary that several of the larger boys remain at the school for one month during vacation."

And then a complaint from the Indian parents:

"While the Indians favor the school and want their children educated, they object to having them do manual labor, especially the younger ones."

The "short hair" rule was now in effect. All Indian members of the police force, Indian judges and other Indian agency employees were compelled to cut their hair in the fashion of the whites, in order to hold their jobs. Braids were considered, both by the Indians and the agency officials, to be a symbolic badge of the aboriginal culture. An Indian who kept his braids was felt to be consciously asserting his identification with all that was old and aboriginally Indian; one who had his hair cut short was in like manner displaying his willingness to go along with what was new and of white prestige in reservation culture. None of the young, at this time, wore braids; the latter being mainly confined to those who had seen the days before the opening of the reservation. What was to be of interest, later on, was to be the number of men who were of the younger generation at this time who were to grow braids as they grew older; a conscious protest to the trend toward assimilation and an attempt to find emotional security by turning to the past.

At this time, too, the Ghost Dance Hand Game, derived from the Arapaho, was to make its appearance on the reservation. The Assiniboine learned this game from the Gros Ventre and made of it an important element in their culture. The game did not succeed in making any inroads among the Assiniboine along the Milk River Valley, but at Lodge Pole, where the concentration of the Assiniboine was greater, a society was formed to play this game on Fridays, in response to vows taken by its members. This game was not one of gambling and it had no connection with any of the hand-games previously played on the reservation, or on the surrounding reservations. Its reason for being was based upon a tradition that went with the ceremonial parts. The Great Spirit had told his son, Christ, to give this game to those of his people who wanted to worship him and who desired that their supplications be answered. The Game was given by any one who had made a vow, during the illness of a child, or wife, or husband, that if these became well, a game and feast would be given to honor the Great Spirit. This was, from the Assiniboine point of view, the Indian Church that would fit their needs far better than the Catholic or Protestant beliefs. Prayers were offered at the beginning

of the hand-game and those who had made vows to make the playing possible were "blessed" by one of the members of the Hand Game Society. Although any one could give the feast and the hand-game, only a member of this society could be in charge to direct the playing. This hand-game was to continue.

Major Logan's policies now began to be formalized. In a letter written to the Commissioner in September, 1902, he stated his plans for the coming year. He was anxious to start new irrigation systems and to encourage the planting of cereals, to be used as winter supplies by the Indians, and hay and grain to be sold off the reservation. "Help me for a short time to teach them to creep and I will soon have them walking, then their rations can be cut off and our duty will be done."

A survey of the reservation at this time would show that none of the Indian police or agency Indian employees either could speak or understand any English, that all of the Indians lived in one-roomed log cabins, earth-roofed and floored and that economically little change had taken place since the opening of the reservation. Most of the Indians were still poverty-stricken, completely dependent upon the agency for their food supplies. Work was scarce and existed only when the agency had enough funds for reservation improvements, such as irrigation projects and road building. Of the twelve hundred individuals on the reservation, but fifty could be termed self-supporting. Only two hundred were felt capable of accepting employment, due to the habits of the past that had made most of the males definitely unemployable. The Sun-Dance was forbidden by the agency officials, although excerpts of the main ceremony could be engaged in, as "social dancing", for a few hours on July Fourth, to be augmented by the Fool's Dance, or the Grass Dance. Medicine-Men were still functioning, in spite of the work of the agency physician and little was done in the way of making the Assiniboine favorable, rather than indifferent to vaccination and other health safeguards. Over two hundred scared and shy children were in the reservation schools, none being in any higher grade than the fourth, to be educated by accentuating their fear-anxieties and their self-consciousness. Mixed bloods were becoming an important factor at this time and their lot was easier, in the adjustment to reservation conditions. Their fathers were on a higher economic scale than that of the Indian fathers. Then, having assimilated numerous of the white patterns through childhood contacts, theirs was not the sudden change into a new milieu.

On July 1, 1902, the first Indian Court was started on the reservation. Three judges were appointed: two being Assiniboine and one Gros Ventre. Rustler, an Assiniboine, was appointed to look after the affairs of the Assiniboine on the Milk River, near the agency; Skunk, a Gros Ventre, to be in charge of the court among the Gros Ventres at Hays, while Many Coos was appointed to be the judge at the Assiniboine community at Lodge Pole. The salary received was ten dollars per month. The agent occasionally sat in as judge and his rulings took precedence over any of the rulings of the Indian judges. The court had been started on the insistence of the reservation Indians who had seen this type of court in operation at other reservations. Almost from its inception the court was considered a success by the agent, since the Indians accepted the court's decisions without reaction, unlike the former decisions of the agent. There were few rulings for the Indian judges to follow; complete freedom being given them to use their own judgment.

Changes were also occurring in material furnishings. Beds and bedding began to be bought by the Indians after 1900. Before 1900 the Indians had slept on the ground on pallets, or else they built crude beds by inserting forked sticks in the ground. At the same time chairs, benches and tables began to make their appearance in the log cabins of the Assiniboine. Sewing machines were also being introduced, as part of the inculcated desires of returned mission school girls.

Changes had already occurred in the burial of the dead. The burial on scaffolds had taken place until about 1878, the second re-opening of the old Fort Belknap agency. From then on the dead were put in boxes and placed on hill tops. The death of The Male, the last of the Assiniboine chiefs, in 1905, marked the formal end of the custom. The Male was placed in a wooden coffin on top of one of the hills near Lodge Pole. Around his coffin a wooden shack was built. After The Male's death cemeteries began to be used more and more in which to bury the dead.

Fort Belknap reservation was originally allotted for religious purposes to the Methodists. Since the Methodists failed to send missionaries, the Catholics came instead, building their mission at Saint Paul

in 1886. The Catholics were until 1904 the only religious group on the reservation. In that year the Presbyterians sent a missionary to look for a site to start a Presbyterian mission. The local Indian council proved antagonistic. They refused permission to Major Logan, the agent, to allow the Presbyterians forty acres of land for mission purposes. After much controversy a small plot of land was leased for a church at Big Warm, near Lodge Pole. The church was built by two Assiniboine, Raymond Feather and Hiram Facing, who were also the first two to be converted. A Yanktonai Sioux, Alfred McCoe, was then sent to take charge. The Presbyterians then began to make inroads into the Catholic membership and numerous Assiniboine were converted, though but few Gros Ventre. The advantage that the Presbyterians possessed was in having a Sioux missionary who could speak and be understood by the Assiniboine. The Catholics had, in their services, employed an interpreter, William Bent, a white man, who had aided in translating the prayers of the Church into Assiniboine.

The year 1903 saw the introduction of the reimbursable plan on the Fort Belknap Reservation. The plan was introduced through the efforts of Major Logan, in an attempt to develop initiative on the part of the Indian. Logan was opposed to the issuing of implements free of charge. Selling these implements on the reimbursable plan was, he felt, more conducive toward pride in ownership. This reimbursable plan on the Belknap Reservation anticipated the legalized act of Congress by more than five years.

The policy of the Indian Office toward the Indian is seen at this time by a book of regulations that became effective on April 1, 1904. Its use was that of a guide for the various field offi cials. The policies as stated therein were not new from the point of view of time. These were rules that represented the crystallized ideas of the men in the Indian Office over a period of years. Two categories for offenses were provided: Indian offenses and offenses that would make the Indian subject to trial in state courts. The latter included murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary or larceny against the person or property of another Indian or any other person within an Indian reservation. The Indian offences included all manifestations of the aboriginal culture which were felt to be detrimental to the Indian Office policy of encouraging the Indian to take over white culture. Under "Indian offenses" the following were included:

> "The "Sun-dance" and all other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies shall be considered "Indian offenses" and any Indian found guilty of being a participant in any one or more of these "offenses" shall, for the first offense committed, be punished by withholding his rations for a period not less than fifteen days, or by incarceration in the agency prison for a period not exceeding thirty days."
>
> "Any plural marriage hereafter contracted or entered into by any member of an Indian tribe under the supervision of a United States Indian Agent shall be considered an "Indian offense", cognizable by the court of Indian offenses; and upon trial and conviction thereof by said court the offender shall pay a fine of not less than twenty dollars, or work at hard labor for a period of twenty days, or both."
>
> "The usual practices of so-called "Medicine men" shall be considered "Indian offenses" cognizable by the court of Indian offenses, and whenever it shall be proven to the satisfaction of the court that the influence or practice of a so-called "Medicine man" resorts to any artifice or device to keep the Indians under his influence, or shall adopt any means to prevent the attendance of children at the Agency schools, or shall use any of the arts of a conjurer to prevent the Indians from abandoning their rites and customs, he shall be adjudged guilty of an Indian offense and upon conviction of any one or more of these specified practices, or any other, in the opinion of the court, of an equally anti-progressive nature, shall be confined in the Agency guard house for a term not less than ten days, or until such time as he shall produce satisfactory evidence to the court and approved by the Agent, that he will forever abandon all practices styles "Indian Offenses" under this rule."

In justice to the agency officials, no case is on record of any arrest on the Fort Belknap reservation for violations of the above mentioned "Indian offenses". Various reasons can be ascribed for the absence of arrests in the case of the Assiniboine. These rules were well-known in the Indian community, through the police force, and in no case did the Assiniboine desire to hold a Sun-Dance against agency opposition, through the fear of the earlier military and later police. Naturally,

this did not imply that they felt no great need to hold a Sun-Dance, but that agency opposition would make any Sun-Dance held inoperative. The stay on the reservation had developed an attitude of acceptance, tinged with indignation, of the belief that the aboriginal culture would necessarily need to disappear in time. For the Assiniboine at Lodge Pole the Ghost Dance hand-game became a sort of substitute for the Sun-Dance. Again, due to the existence of a tribal council and the existence of individuals on the reservation who could write letters to Washington, no agent felt the desirability of consciously antagonizing his wards by encouraging arrests of this sort. Pressure of this kind was left in the hands of the Indian police. However, permission to hold dances of any sort had still to be procured from the agent. The way in which the Assiniboine accepted cultural change was, in part, to spell the doom of the "medicine man." The development of free medicinal attention on the reservation coupled with the fact that the shaman always demanded pay for his power, soon brought about an unwillingness on the part of the younger generation to pay for native medical services. Shamanism thus died a natural death, since the younger generation refused to pay for the power that the shamans made available. The latter, naturally, on the basis of tribal custom, could not give them to the young free of charge.

The Milk River Reclamation project opening up almost five thousand acres of irrigated land was started on the Fort Belknap reservation in 1906. This project was based upon the building of an irrigation canal, paralleling the Milk River on the Belknap reserve; the water for the canal being taken from St. Mary's Lake on the Blackfoot reservation. Upon the initial start of this reclamation project, the water rights of the Indians on the reservation were challenged by various ranchmen living to the west. The Appellate Court and the Court of Appeals finally awarded 5000 inches of water rights to the Fort Belknap reservation. With the completion of the irrigation canal, some Assiniboine and Gros Ventre moved to the Milk River valley to take out "forties" of irrigated land, Most of the irrigated land, however, was taken out by the Assiniboine who had previously lived in the Milk River Valley.

Major Logan's policies were under fire by the Indians at this time. Various letters had been written to the Commissioner insisting that Logan was following a policy of "feathering his own nest"; that he was against the plan of stock raising for the Indians, because of a personal interest in the grazing possibilities of the reservation for his own cattle from his ranch west of the reservation, and that his supposed interest in aiding the Indian was a mere cover for his cattle activities outside the reservation.

In reply to the charges brought by the Indians, Logan admitted that he was the principal owner of a large ranch bordering the reservation. His activities, as cattleman were, however, kept distinct from his work as agent. His cattle paid a leasing fee and so were not taking advantage of the grazing lands of the reservation. Again, his ranch had been bought from savings before he became agent at Fort Belknap; and he saw no reason why an agent should not be allowed to invest his savings in outside business interprises, without bringing on the charges of graft. In answer to the Indian criticisms concerning his tactics, he stated his policies to the Commissioner:

> "I have encouraged farming, have laid down upon them pretty hard, in fact, have made them farm whether they liked it or not, as in my opinion, farming is their only salvation.....In teaching them to farm I have made them a sober, industrious lot of people.
>
> "I insist that they pay their just debts, just the same as a white man. I encourage them to keep out of debt, but when they incur an obligation I insist that they make good. This hurts some of them, as in the past they would run in debt to the traders, then run up charges to have the traders fired off the reservation, when all debts were wiped off the slate, as the trader was helpless to collect after he lost his license and the Indians were well aware of this fact."
>
> "We have built ditches, reservoirs and dikes for the white ranchers adjoining the reservation, by contract and by day's work and in each and every case have given perfect satisfaction."

Logan also encouraged the Indians to go out of the reservation to work. He received a number of requests from nearby ranchers for Indian hands to work for two dollars per day and board. Through him a number of young Indians received permanent jobs with white ranchers at forty dollars per month and board.

At the same time, Logan attempted to get the Indians started in sugar-beet cultivation on the irrigated lands of the reservation. And in 1906 he was instrumental in getting the Amalgamated Sugar Company interested in the future building of a sugar mill on the reservation. The company was anxious to get a ten year lease, so as to begin building operations. But in spite of the pressure exerted by Major Logan and the moral support of the Indian Office behind him, the Tribal Business Council refused to sanction any lease, outside of a short term one, for any erection of a mill. The council, as well as most of the Indians on the reservation were a little too suspicious of the intentions and the motivation behind Major Logan's desire to raise the economic standard of the reservation Indians. They had remembered that Major Logan's predecessor, Bridgman, had been removed from office for grafting and they were still uncertain as to the honesty of Logan as agent. Then, they knew of Logan's investment in cattle outside the reservation at a time when his reservation policy was to discourage the Indians from becoming stockmen; with the result that they felt that Logan had a personal financial interest in this sugar-mill, else he would not have been so insistent.

While the Indian Council was debating this lease, Logan sent two young Indians to Billings, in company with a group of nearby farmers, to inspect a new sugar mill-there. Upon their return they were to make a report of what they saw to the Council. "By that means whatever information they have gained will be disseminated among the Indians of both tribes... Sugar been growing is the very best kind of farming that the Indian could engage in."

And at that time when the Indians were most antagonistic to the general idea of sugar beet farming, Logan wrote to the Commissioner that "They are most anxious to engage in the larger enterprise of sugar beet growing."

Although the next few years were spent by Major Logan in an attempt to get the Indians to reconsider the possibility of sugar-beet growing, the Indians still remained adamant. Not only had they developed an antagonism to any and all of Major Logan's economic plans but they had also considered the amount of work that would be necessary in cultivating and harvesting the beets, without any guarantee that all the labor involved would be economically profitable in the long run. Sugar beet growing was a more complicated affair than that of wheat raising and since wheat raising had as yet shown no signs of being economically profitable, due to drought conditions, they had no surety that beet raising would be otherwise. In general, they were still suspicious of Major Logan's anxious attempts to find profitable fields of endeavor for them, outside of cattle raising.

It is interesting to note that despite the difficulties of the earlier years in raising stock, the amount of cattle increased from a little over two thousand in 1902 to fifty-five hundred in 1905. However, with the effect of Logan's policy and the auctioning off of cattle, the number of cattle dropped from the high figure in 1905 to a little less than four thousand in 1907. The high figure in 1905 was not to be reached again until 1933, when the policy was again to change to stock raising, as a more intelligent adjustment to geographical conditions. The Indians have made the assertion, with some justification, that they could have been economically independent by 1918 if Logan had not been so insistent in developing their "character" through the hard work of farming and the suspicion still remains with them that Logan was not overly anxious to develop Indian cattle competitors.

The amount of cattle was steadily decreasing, while the emphasis was being placed more and more upon wheat growing. Two threshing machines were in operation at Lodge Pole at this time to aid in the harvesting of wheat, with the profit gained far from sufficient to give the Indians a profitable livelihood. The attitude of Major Logan was still emphatic in the belief that the Indians should learn to farm and in 1910 he wrote to the Commissioner:

> "I am not in favor of the purchase of more cattle at present, but would rather the Indians would get down to farming the soil and improving farms and through them, earn their cattle."

Information still needs to be had as to the reason for the disappearance of Indian cattle on the range from 1907 to 1910, as claimed by both the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine. It is sufficient to say that no records were found in the agency files relative to orders given through Louis Bolster, the reservation stockman, ordering the rounding up of cattle for shipment for which the Indians claimed they received no payment.

The Reimbursable Fund plan was

established by Act of Congress on April 30, 1908. Under this plan funds for the purchase of work-horses, plows, harrows, harness, mowing machines, rakes and other agricultural implements were made available to the Indians on a time payment plan. By means of this fund money was now available for the encouragement of farming through sale of necessary agricultural machinery. Six hundred dollars was allowed each individual and no further grants could be given until the first given sum was paid. The system of the Reimbursable was explained by Major Logan in a letter to the Commissioner dated November 18, 1910:

> "$25,000 is set aside by law, as a reimbursable account to purchase implements, etc. for sale to the Indians of this reservation. In keeping the individual accounts, we simply use the debit and credit method. When an article is sold to an Indian his individual account is charged for that article. The Indians make on-account payments, from time to time, as their personal finances permit, and at the time of making such payments, sign a certificate of payment and are given receipts in return, showing the amount of their payments."

Due to the reimbursable plan, many of the Fort Belknap Indians are still in debt to the United States Government for funds advanced, during this farming period, to purchase implements and seeds.

On December 29, 1909 the Indian council of the reservation agreed to allow sheep to be grazed on the central part of the reservation. As a result over 16,000 sheep came in from the outside during the year following. It is interesting to note the influence of Major Logan in this move, for in 1911, a year after Major Logan left the reservation on his promotion, the new Superintendent, Miller, wrote:

> "I have the honor to report that the Indians are not willing for sheep to graze on the reservation and have protested against permits being sold for that purpose. They do not object to cattle being grazed on the reservation and we are making an effort to interest cattlemen in taking out permits."

The contract with the Amalgamated Sugar Company was annulled due to the antagonism of the Indians in March, 1910. Shortly after, Logan was instrumental in signing a lease with the Hall Company for the leasing of 1,000 acres of irrigated land for sugar beets. Under this lease the government would receive 10% net on all beets raised under the lease. An average crop would have meant a return to the government of from $4 to $4.50 per acre. However, since land could be leased outside the reservation by this concern at a cheaper fee, Logan suggested that a new lease be drawn up on a lease basis of $3.50 per acre. Logan's leaving the reservation left the lease unrevised and unratified and the Indian council refused to sanction any further negotiations in sugar-beet leases. The trends of change that were noted during the superintendency of Major Logan continued through his successor, H. H. Miller. Cattle raising was discouraged and attempts were still being made, through resident farmers, to increase the acreage of wheat. Due to a succession of good years the wheat crop offered encouragement as to its profitable continuation. Large acreages of wheat were planted in the Lodge Pole and Hays districts and hope was expressed by the agency that the Indians would soon be economically independent through their farming. At the same time acreage was given over to the growing of alfalfa to be sold off the reservation. In 1914 an initial start was again made in cattle raising by the introduction of a tribal herd, the cattle to be bought and managed by the local agency. The plan being that cattle owned in common could be managed and run more successfully than if they were individually owned. About one thousand cattle were bought for this herd.

The Sun-Dance performance was still taboo as far as the local agency was concerned and it is of note to find in the local agency files the following letters sent by the superintendent to the sub-agencies at Lodge Pole and Hays during the year 1914:

> "It is reported that the Indians in your district are planning to have a Medicine Dance. You will please inform them that the Sun-Dance, or Medicine Dance, or any modification of these dances, is prohibited by Departmental instructions, and that no dance similar to the Medicine dance will be allowed on this reservation at this time. If you see any indications that the Indians are preparing for such a dance, you will stop them and have the Medicine Pole destroyed."

For other social dances or functions permission had to be procured from the Superintendent. The following note of permission was found in the files, dated 1914:

"To the policemen: Permission is

hereby given for a hand game at Speak Thunder's this evening. It is understood that all of the visitors are to leave for their homes not later than 10 o'clock and that no presents are to be given."

The wheat crop yield began to decline after 1915 due to lack of rains and for the next four years were to be almost total failures. By 1918 the Superintendent was to be convinced that almost nothing could be done in the ways of farming and that stock-raising offered the only economic hope:

"Many attempts have been made in past years to raise grain crops on the reservation, with rather uncertain success. The present year has produced nothing on dry land and many of the irrigated fields will show only a small fraction of a full crop.

"...The proper plan for the Indians of this reservation will be based upon some phase of the livestock industry."

However, despite the failure of the wheat yield due to unfavorable climatic conditions, difficulties were also had with the tribal herd and the individually owned cattle. The Superintendent was now to be convinced that of stock-raising, horses offered the best economic possibilities due to the severity of the climate in winter:

"The tribal herd has not been profitable to date. This was partly due to avoidable causes in the first year or two of their existence here, but the outlook is not yet very encouraging. The cost of hay for winter feed at this time is so great that it would take all the profit of the year to buy sufficient feed to insure a safe passage of next winter. Prices are not normally so high and it is probable that in an average year we could get what hay we need and still show a profit; but at any probable price for hay the running of stock cattle in this extremely severe climate is one of very uncertain profit.

"...The Indians of the reservation who have made any progress now own stock; a large percent own herds and comparatively few run cattle. The winters here are so severe and so long in duration that it is a great expense and there is great loss in wintering stock cattle. Horses do much better; in fact the average cayuse goes throughout the winter without hay, living entire-on grass that he can uncover on the range. I believe the proper utilization of the resources of the reservation would be by the raising of horses.

"....I believe the way of prosperity for the Fort Belknap Indians to be in the raising of horses, for stock cattle at best are expensive and at anything less than the best treatment winter losses destroy the profit and it is impracticable for the individual Indian to ship in and fatten steers. The raising of hay and grain on the irrigated portions of the reservation should, of course, be encouraged as a part of the stock-raising activities."

The Superintendent was at the same time, beginning to doubt the desirability of abolishing the social remnants of the aboriginal culture in the form of dances. His point of view had changed from the one held previously:

"I have made no attempt to entirely eliminate the Indian dances and I do not believe it could successfully be done. I believe the dance question can be better solved by a gradual education away than by the attempted enforcement of arbitrary rules. The Indian cannot work all the time. If we are to persuade him to put forth his best efforts most of the time he must be allowed to have some fun occasionally. Dances were permitted on the Fourth of July, Decoration Day and at infrequent intervals during the winter up to the commencement of the farming season."

A change was also occurring in the celebration of Decoration Day as a day in commemoration of the dead. The first commemorative services for the dead was recorded in the Superintendent's annual report for 1918:

"On Decoration Day this year a celebration was held which I believe to be rather unique. It has long been the custom on this reservation for the Indians to lay away their dead on the top of the ground....This is, of course, both unpleasant and unsanitary and we have encouraged them to set aside cemetary plots and bury their dead. In one district of the reservation the Indians buried about two hundred and fifty corpses on and just preceding Decoration Day; then on Decoration Day held memorial services and decorated the graves. The plan was not followed with much success in the other two districts of the reservation, but they can doubtless be encouraged to fol-

low this plan next year. An attempt is being made, with a considerable degree of success, to have the bodies buried immediately after death."

****

Previous to 1918, three forms of marriage were prevalent on the reservation. Those who had come under the influence of Christianity were married in church, either Catholic or Presbyterian. Those of the older generation who had need to remarry, married in the aboriginal manner by giving presents, having a feast and then living together. Others, in an attempt to have some form of formalized marriage, were married by the superintendent, who asked the couple if they agreed to live with one another for life and if they assented, pronounced them man and wife and recorded their marriage on the agency rolls. Licenses were issued at the agency office for all those who desired to marry in formalized fashion. In fact, it often occurred that a couple would be married both in Indian fashion and in the church, or superintendent's office. In 1918 the superintendent was forbidden to perform any further marriages and he was ordered to inform the Indians that marriage henceforth would need to be performed in a legalized manner, in order to make simpler the question of heirship and descent. Allotment of lands was to come within a few years and with allotment would come the necessity for accurate and recorded marriage statistics for the purpose of clearing up future inheritance rights. The previous policy of the agency was stated by a letter written to the Commissioner by the superintendent in August, 1918:

> "The Indians of this reservation have not in the past gone to the State authorities for either marriage licenses or divorces. Of course many of the mixed bloods and those who marry whites have gotten their licenses through the proper county office, but the agency office has issued marriage licenses and granted divorces. Many of our Indians are very poor and I believe it advisable for the present to continue to issue marriage licenses at the agency. However, I took the stand that no further divorce would be issued by me for any cause."

Under the new superintendent, A. H. Symons, the Indian Council changed the regulations concerning divorce. Previously, divorce had been obtained through the superintendent and the Indian Court. With the new Departmental Order of 1918 divorce could now be procured only through the State courts. In an attempt to prevent an exodus of the Indians to outside courts in a rush for easy divorces, the council, composed of ten full-bloods and two mixed bloods, issued the following rules on February 6, 1919:

> "The council men of the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine Indians in Council assembled do hereby decide after due deliberation upon the following points and conditions concerning divorce cases. These decisions being arrived at owing to the fact that it appears certain parties are seeking divorce with the view of marrying again, which is detrimental to the harmony of the Indian domestic relations of the reservation and results in many cases in the of the marriage in question being thrown out of a home and hence of being improperly raised and cared for...
>
> "First: That when two parties are granted a divorce they shall be denied permission to marry again under three years.
>
> "Second: That if one party is proven guilty and the other one innocent that the guilty one shall surrender all his property to the innocent one.
>
> "Third: That if both parties are proven equally guilty, the court shall divide the personal property equally, or the personal property shall be divided by the court in proportion to the guilt determined.
>
> "Fourth: That the Indian court shall have power and be duly bound to decide upon what punishment shall be given each of the parties.
>
> "Fifth: That the Indian court shall have original jurisdiction over all applications for divorce whether the contracted shall have been married by Indian custom or shall have obtained legal license in the county and legally married.
>
> "Sixth: That in all cases of non-citizen Indians applying for divorce, having been legally married, the Indian court shall have the power to refuse the applicants permission to proceed to the County courts for divorce proceedings, if in the judgment of the court there be no just grounds for divorce.
>
> "Seventh: The superintendent will enforce the provisions of these articles by the appropriate punishment if necessary."

It is evident that the above

regulations were drawn up under the influence of the new superintendent, since they are somewhat of an adjustment to changing conditions in the status of the Indian. On the aboriginal level divorce was relatively simple and easy, being but separation of both parties. These regulations fell into disuse with the conferring of citizenship upon the Indian in 1924 and it is doubtful that they were enforced at any time.

The economic position of the Assiniboine still remained low in 1920, although some economic improvement had been registered in the increasing acreages of natural hay and alfalfa grown on the reservation. The total per capita income from all crops amounted to but $128, as compared to $32 ten years previously. The highest incomes were made in alfalfa and hay, with two individuals possessing an income of more than eighteen hundred dollars earned through the growing of these crops. The incomes from wheat, on the irrigated districts of the Milk River valley, were low in comparison, the highest being five hundred dollars. On the other hand, those Assiniboine who had resisted the attempts of Major Logan to do away with cattle raising and who had kept and augmented their herds found their incomes high in comparison, due to wartime conditions. Of the dozen individuals who could be termed stock raisers on the reservation at that time, none had an income less than a thousand dollars. My interpreter, Simon First Shoot received eleven hundred dollars in 1919 and 1920 through the sale of ten head of cattle from his herd. It was the factor of drought coupled with the ability to grow hay on the reservation that was to start a new trend back again to stock raising. The period of "character" molding was now approaching its end. The amount of individually owned owned stock had dropped to a low level in the form of cattle; there being but eight hundred head of cattle as contrasted with the high figure of five thousand in 1905. Horses had increased with ten thousand head owned in 1920.

The agricultural program was being modified after 1920. Grain farming had proven to be a series of failures. Various factors were involved in this inability to make the growing of grain a paying business for the Indians. It is certain, however, that the general lack of interest in this type of farming by the Assiniboine was one important factor. Discouragement over countless failures due to drought and perhaps improper cultivation tended to convince them that some other economic pursuit was necessary were they to exist on a halfway decent standard. The trend toward cattle, from the Assiniboine point of view was stated by my interpreter, Simon First Shoot:

> "Up until the World War very few Indians on this reservation had cattle. Dick Snell, Willie Crasco, Walk Slow, Old Man Ohlerking, Frank Kirkaldie, Joe Tucker, Yellow Owl, Frank Kirdaldie's sons, George Pease and myself were the only ones who had cattle. We were all the cattlemen that were left after Major Logan induced the Indians to go into wheat farming. We just went into debt buying agricultural implements and seeds. Then the dry years came and we went into a hole. Farming just didn't turn out well for us. Meanwhile they built up a tribal herd, but we got nothing out of it. In fact we had to use tribal funds to keep them. Those who had cattle lived a little better than the rest who didn't. They at least got a little money out of their cattle. That was why the Indians started turning back to cattle again. After the World War they sold reimbursable cattle to us. That gave us a start again, for the government people saw what a few of us were doing with cattle."

The ration system was still continued for the old, the unemployable and the crippled, these being given the following supplies each two weeks:

Rice-1½ lbs.
Beans--1 lb.
Sugar-1½ lbs.
Flour-10 lbs.
Coffee-¼ lb.
Rolled Oats-1¾ lbs. (once each month)
Milk-1 can (16 oz. once each month)
Beef-8 lbs.
Horse meat-12 lbs.

The issuance of horse meat proved disastrous to the members of the Horse Society, since the regulations of membership in that society forbade the eating of horses, as death would result from such food. The result was that many of the older men and women on the ration roll had to do without meat, resulting in a certain amount of malnutrition among them. Since they were unable to state this taboo, the agency officials were unaware of their predicament. Although the superintendent stated that no complaints had been received by him from the Indians relative to the eating of horse meat, yet the reaction against this food was to last. The feeling among the older people was that they should be thankful for what-

ever food they received, since that was preferable to starvation.

In 1921 the Indians of Fort Belknap reservation received their allotment of land. Congress, on March 3, 1921 had passed an act authorizing the Indian Office to prepare a final roll of all Indians on the Fort Belknap reservation for the purpose of allotting the lands existent on the reservation. The act then provided for the issuance of trust patents to all Indians on the basis of forty acres of irrigated land, or three hundred and twenty acres of grazing land. The trust patents were to be held by the government for twenty-five years, after which patents-in-fee were to be issued. Under a patent-in-fee the land would be owned by the individual Indian, rather than by the government as in the case of the trust patent. The twenty-five years were felt sufficient preparation for the Indian to take his place as an independent, self-supporting citizen. Upon the issuance of the trust patents the Indians who were allotted were declared to be citizens of the United States and were given the rights to the benefits of the state criminal and civil laws. All mineral and timber rights on the reservation were declared to be tribal property.

Land was set aside as town sites for Lodge Pole and Hays, with lots in the town site sold. A patent-in-fee for three hundred and twenty acres of land was issued to Saint Paul's Roman Catholic Mission and lands were set aside for the agency, schools and cemeteries. Sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township were granted to the State of Montana for school purposes.

A committee of three composed of William Bigby, Assiniboine, George Cochran, Gros Ventre and the superintendent decided which names were to be kept on the agency rolls. Land was selected by each individual who was found to be a rightful resident on the reservation. In the cases where the individual was found to be absent from the reservation, acreage was allotted by the committee. The final allotment of land was made in 1923, at which time all the land on the reservation was allotted to all the members of both tribes who had given evidence that they rightfully belonged on the Fort Belknap agency rolls; there being no surplus lands to be thrown open to white settlement. Assiniboine from Fort Peck reservation, or from Canada who had moved on the Belknap Reservation after its opening in 1888 were refused allotment, as were members of tribes other than the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine. Thus, Crees and Chippewas who had been long on the reservation were declared nonwards with no reservation rights.

A sum of fifty thousand dollars was also appropriated to start initial surveys toward further irrigation of lands. All irrigation projects constructed by the Government were further declared to be reimbursable, with the Government having liens on the land that was irrigated as a result of the construction of such projects.

The allotment act marked a definite period in the reservation culture of the Assiniboine. It had come at a time when the Assiniboine had assimilated numerous of the white patterns. Clothes, with the exception of moccassins, worn by the old, were now definitely of white design. All the Assiniboine lived in log cabins and were developing a taste for material furnishings of white origin. The generation under thirty had been educated in government schools and had come back to their allotments with the desire to live more and more "like a white man". The tipis for summer use had given way to the wall tent and few of the Indian ceremonies were in existence to have an appeal to the young. The war had taken some of the younger people away from the reservation. These had come in more intimate contact with the culture to which they were trying to assimilate. Many of the younger generation who had been off the reservation working came back only because of the allotment act that gave them land that they would not have had otherwise. The use of Assiniboine was beginning to decline as more and more of the younger people began to use English among themselves and in conversation with those of middle age. The returned individuals belonged to the "progressive" set and these were imbued with a feeling that their mission was to set the pace for the young who had never left the reservation.

The older people were caught in this tide of cultural change. Although unable to adjust themselves to the culture patterns of the young, nevertheless no attempt was made by these to put up an emotional barrier to prevent further imitation of what was felt to be white culture. Change was felt, by the old people to be inevitable and that they had to resign themselves to the discomforts accruing to them from this change for the benefit of the future generation. Men such as Many Coos, Sam King and Talks Different, although unable to speak English, were insistent that change in itself was desirable in that it would raise the economic standard

of the people. The pattern behind what would be considered on other reservations as unheard of behavior was the ideal of a good man, the one who had the interests of the tribe at heart. Although the old turned now and then to the nostalgic age of pre-reservation days, none actually felt that such a period could be revived or that it was desirable. These of the old generation were to comfort themselves with the belief that although reservation life had brought some unhappiness to them, yet it would prove of benefit to the future generation of Assiniboine and that having the interest of these at heart theirs was not the task of opposing change. The economic anxieties of the old life had weakened the Assiniboine culture and had made of the economic the central point. From the point of view of Sam King, one of the old generation, any culture in which life was secure and prosperous was definitely preferable to one, no matter what the sentimental ties, in which such security was lacking. This is obviously a rationalization on Sam King's part. The Assiniboine, in the early days of the reservation, had been too eager to send their children to white schools, thankful for having been freed from attacks by enemy tribes, and the tide of cultural change had engulfed them too quickly. Due to the precariousness of their former life they had expressed themselves willing for change and when change did come resigned themselves to the fact that they had to make the best of the bargain.

The remainder of the period from 1921 to 1935 was to be a continuation of the trends that had been started with the opening of the reservation. The change was to go on gathering momentum.

The period between 1923 and 1933 formed a transitional economic period for the Assiniboine. Grain was still grown in 1923 and that year saw the largest grain crop in reservation times. Two threshing machines were continuously in operation for the entire reservation during harvesting season. Stock was also beginning to come into its own, although there was still some doubt as to which type of stock would prove most profitable for the reservation. An inspector's report led Commissioner Burke in 1923 to believe that an attempt in sheep should be started. Farming had not as yet been given up as a policy as is seen in the Commissioner's letter:

> "It is suggested that after the Indians become interested in farming they should be induced to engage in sheep raising, as the Supervisor is of the opinion that they will not make much headway with cattle raising on account of the severity of the climate."

Sheep would prove impossible to introduce as the Indians had developed, through outside contact, the cattleman's prejudice toward them. Sheep, it was felt, would destroy the grazing possibilities of the reservation and would make it impossible for other stock to graze after them. Sheep were more troublesome than cattle, in that a herder would need be continuously with them, while cattle could be left on the range and rounded up at claving and shipping time. No headway, then, was made with sheep, since few of the Indians were willing to develop an interest in them.

Burke was also the initiator of a five year plan for the Indian reservations. The memorandum for such a plan was sent to all the Superintendents and agencies on January 23, 1923. The provisions were intended to make the Indian adopt as many of the white patterns as possible. Thus, officials were asked to exert pressure "to persuade non-citizen Indians to adopt proper customs of civilization and comply with the State Laws relating to marriage and immoral conduct." The Fort Belknap Indians were now citizens, with the assumption made that they had already "adopted the proper customs of civilization". Another provision was to "restrict Indian dances and celebrations by showing that the loss of time and property sustained by attendance at dances and celebrations amounts to large sums which they might easily avoid by a reduction in time spent in that way."

Beginning with 1927 the plan of Farm Chapters came on the Fort Belknap Reservation. The chapters were based upon neighborhood groupings and were intended to be small economic governing units. Due to lack of funds that were to be forthcoming to make them self-supporting, the plan fell through and the Farm Chapters became but an historical term.

Extension work was begun in 1930. A program was drawn up to act as an economic guide. The emphasis was placed mainly upon stock-raising with its corollaries of hay and winter feed for livestock and home gardening. Added were home economics and plans for the improvement of homes. At the same time various clubs were organized on the reservation. At Lodge Pole, the Lodge Pole Woman's Club, the Sunshine Poultry 4H Club and the Little Rockies Beef Club were organized, the plan being to interest the young in poultry not because they were alien in form, but for the reason that encouragement

was lacking on the part of the agency extension department. In teaching proper canning methods and the encouragement of home improvement the department proved more successful.

Little, however, could be done because of the poverty of both the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine. Few were the individuals whose total income was more than one thousand dollars per year. The amount allowed on the reimbursable plan, six hundred dollars, was far too little to purchase mowing machines and cattle and seed, leaving out of consideration the amounts necessary to make their log cabins livable. Nor could each individual draw upon the sum of six hundred dollars. Many were the portions that had been spent in previous years buying farm machinery that, with the reintroduction of stock, had become useless. Farming had, by 1933, left the Assiniboine, as well as the Gros Ventre, in a poverty stricken condition. Years of experimentation had proven what had been guessed at, even during the time of the old Fort Union in the fifties, that farming could not pay in a semi-arid grass country, where the yearly rain fall averaged fifteen inches. The Assiniboine in 1933 were on the same economic level that they had been on in 1905. To build up cattle herds required money as well as time. The Assiniboine in 1933 were expected to build up their herds through time only. Small wonder that both the Gros Ventre and the Assiniboine were to grasp the Wheeler-Howard Bill and the Indian Reorganization Act so eagerly. These acts were important to them, not because of the autonomy involved, that to them was minor for trends toward autonomy had been existent in the past, nor because these acts would enable them to revive the old culture, few wanted to have the old cultural forms flourish again, but mainly because the Wheeler-Howard Bill and the later Indian Reorganization Act would allow them revolving funds to purchase cattle and to build new homes. The Reorganization Act offered to them the most feasible plan for eventual economic independence through immediate funds.

An idea of their present poverty can be gleaned from the fact that on the opening of an office of the Montana Relief Commission on the Fort Belknap Reservation in December, 1934, fully seventy-five percent of the reservation adults were on relief until the spring of 1935. The years 1930 to 1935 were drought years and cattle had not been introduced in sufficient quantity to give much of an income to the Indians. Relief was urgent in 1934, since the agency rations could not take care of all those who found themselves without resources, nor was there sufficient work relief to care for the needy.

The Indians of the Fort Belknap Reservation had voted by an overwhelming majority to accept first, the proposed Wheeler-Howard Bill and then its revised form, the Indian Reorganization Act and in the following two years various attempts were made to adopt a constitution that would be most in keeping with what had existed on this reservation previously. After many council meetings and elections and preliminary constitutions drawn up, a constitution was drawn up that embodied the trends of previous years and on October 19, 1935 an election took place that sanctioned this constitution by a vote of 316 to 28, out of 602 qualified to vote.

Section Two
The Aboriginal Background

Food, Clothing and Shelter

Food, clothing and shelter embrace the main economic indices of any culture. Each of these acts as a nucleus for a wider array of complexes and patterns, the abstractions of which tend to give a contrast in comparing one culture with that of another. It is interesting to note how few societies were so dependent upon one animal for these three economic categories as the Assiniboine. In common with the other cultures of the plains area, the success or the failure in the hunting of the buffalo meant the difference between a prosperous economic life and that of dire poverty. Buffalo formed the main diet of the Assiniboine, the skins being used for clothing and tipi covers and the bones for the various implements and tools.

There were three methods of hunting the buffalo; namely, by the surround, the pound, or the pen, or by the less frequent hunting on the part of the individual, that of stalking.

The surround was generally used when more than one band was camped together and was engaged in by a large number of men, from fifty to one hundred, who surrounded a large herd of buffalo, either on foot, or on horseback. A good description of the surround as a hunting method is given by Denig, as of 1853:

> "The buffalo migrate, or take different ranges and travel all in the same direction in a given season. Thus in the spring they move north and northwest, in the fall east and south, in the winter east, returning west and north toward the spring. They keep together in herds of from one hundred or two hundred to five or six thousand and sometimes the whole country for five or six days travel is covered with one moving mass of these animals. News of the buffalo approaching an Indian camp is received several days before the animals appear, as they only move forward when the grazing is not sufficient...
>
> "The soldiers hold a council with the chief in the soldiers' lodge and prohibit any individual hunting ahead of the buffalo; they also send runners on discovery to observe what progress they are making toward the camp, their numbers, etc., and when they report them to be near enough a meeting is held in the soldiers' lodge, the time for the hunt appointed and notice given to the camp by the haranguing of the public crier. At daybreak all the horses are caught and saddled; each of the horsemen is provided with a bow and a quiver of arrows. A number who have no horses arm themselves with guns and at a signal from one of the soldiers the party moves off in single file or line. The soldiers ride along each side the line (which is sometimes a mile and more in length) and observe whether the line of march is preserved and that no one leaves singly. Were a dog to run out of the line it would be shot with an arrow immediately.
>
> "As soon, however, as they are close and see a movement among the buffalo intimating flight, they push their horses at full speed and riding entirely around commence shooting the buffalo....
>
> "A 'surround' party of eighty to one hundred persons will in this way kill from one hundred to five hundred buffalo in the course of an hour. As soon as possible the women get to work skinning and cutting up the animals. The tongue, hide and four best pieces are the property of the one who killed it and the rest belongs to those who skinned it...." (1)

Pounds varied in size according to the number camped together. The average ran in area about three hundred yards in circumference, was about five feet high and was made of cotton wood trees interwoven with branches and twigs and was generally built on declining ground, or in wide coulee or ravines. The enclosure was semi-circular in shape with wings extending in V-shape back a distance of from one-half mile to one mile, Small openings were left in the enclosure to admit dogs who fed on the carcasses that were considered useless. The framework of the wings ceased after a hundred yards; clumps of bushes being put instead at a distance of about twenty-five yards, behind which both men and women hid to prevent the buffalo from leaving the way to the enclosure. Some times three or four cross sticks were put up instead of clumps of bushes. These were called "dead men." In the cen-

ter of the enclosure a pole was placed upon which sacrifices of red flannel were tied; the sacrifices being intended for the spirits of the buffaloes, that the Assiniboine food supply might never diminish.

"Young men are usually sent out to collect and bring in the buffalo, a tedious task which requires great patience; for the herd must be started at slow degrees. This is done by setting fire to dung or grass. Three young men will bring in a herd of several hundreds from a great distance.

"When the wind is aft it is most favorable, as they can then direct the buffalo with great ease. Having come in sight of the ranges, they generally drive the buffalo faster, until, it begins to enter the ranges, where a swift-footed person has been stationed with a buffalo robe over his head to imitate that animal; but sometimes a horse performs this business. When he sees buffalo approaching he moves slowly toward the pound until they appear to follow him, then he sets off at full speed, imitating a buffalo as well as he can, with the herd after him. The young men in the rear now discover themselves and drive the herd on with all possible speed. There is always some sentinel on some elevated spot to notify the camp when the buffalo appear; and this intelligence is no sooner given than every man, woman and child runs to the ranges that lead to the pound, to prevent the buffalo from taking a wrong direction. There they lie down between the fascines and cross sticks and if the buffalo attempt to break through, the people wave their robes, which causes the herd to keep on, or turn to the opposite side, where other persons do the same. When the buffalo have been thus directed to the entrance of the pound, the Indian who leads them rushes into it and out at the other side, either by jumping over the enclosure or creeping through an opening left for that purpose. The buffalo tumble in pell-mell at his heels, almost exhausted, but keep moving around the enclosure from east to west and never in a direction against the sun. Many buffaloes break their legs and some their necks in jumping into the pound, as the descent is generally six or eight feet and stumps are left standing there. The buffalo being caught, the men assemble at the enclosure, armed with bows and arrows; every arrow has a particular mark of the owner and they fly until the whole herd is killed.

"Then the men enter the pound and each claims his own; but commonly there is what they term the master of the pound, who divides the animals and gives each tent an equal share. But in the end he is the best provided for; everyone is obliged to send him a certain portion, as it is in his tent that the numerous ceremonies relating to the pound are observed. There the young men are always welcome to feast and smoke and no women are allowed to enter, as that tent is set aside for the affairs of the pound. Horses are sometimes used to collect and bring in buffalo but this method is less effectual than the other, besides it frightens the herds and causes them to withdraw to a great distance. When horses are used, the buffalo are absolutely driven into the pound; but when the other method is used, they are in a manner enticed to their destruction."(2)

The above account of the Assiniboine pound was given by Alexander Henry, the younger, who visited the Assiniboine as a trader in the years 1801 to 1814. In description it differs little from the accounts given by the later traders and explorers. Due to a continuous scarcity of horses among the Assiniboine, the pound was used more by the Assiniboine as a means of assuring a food supply than by the surrounding plains people. Indeed, Denig was careful to note that in 1853 only the Assiniboine and the Cree used the pound method (3).

Not until the final extinction of the buffalo as a food animal in 1883-4 was the complex of the pound weakened in Assiniboine culture.

The spirit of Assiniboine religion prevailed in the hunting of the buffalo. The insecurity of the food supply was compensated for by the master of the pound. This individual was generally a medicine man, or shaman, who had received power, either through dreams, or through gift, to cause the buffalo to appear whenever needed. He it was who made sacrifices to the various spirits of tobacco, red flannel and metal implements to insure the ever-existent supply of buffalo. When the buffalo were driven into the pound enclosure, it was he who before the slaughter began offered the pipe to one of the old bulls and said:

"My grandfather, we are glad to see you and happy to find that you have not come in a shameful manner, for you have brought plenty of your young men with you. Be not angry with us; we are obliged

to destroy you to make ourselves live (4).

And with this attempt to placate the spirits of the buffalo, who existed only to supply the Assiniboine with food, the master of the pound gave the signal for the slaughter of the animals. The master of the pound was unable to take meat for his own use from the pound. Were he to do so, he would lose his "power" over the buffalo and never again would he be able to entice them to their death. His meat must be killed in the open range.

Two to six runners were generally under the direction of this shaman, or medicine man. These were the scouts who informed the master of the pound of the coming of buffalo. As soon as runners announced this coming of buffalo, the master of the pound asked the camp announcers to inform the members of the camp of this important arrival. This was done in roundabout terms, for the buffalo would feel it a violation of etiquette if bluntness were used:

> "When I was about seven, we camped one spring near the Woody Mountain. Before sunrise one morning the announcer came around the tipis to wake us with news of the coming of the buffalo. The people listened very carefully to the words of this announcer: 'It is now time to get up. You must enjoy yourselves the rest of the day. Paint your faces red and the faces of your wives and children. You young men who are awake, sharpen your knives and your arrowheads. A large band of people are coming to visit us. Now they are resting over the hills until we make ourselves ready to greet them. It is a great day to come together with these people. Paint your faces red and put on your best clothes, so that you may look at them. Get all the good meat that you can, for with meat you can raise your children to always have good health, that they may be of benefit to the Assiniboine.'
>
> "We all ran to the pound. In the center of the pound was a pole, on which they tied red flannels as sacrifices to the buffalo and they let the sacrifices hang in such a way as not to be touched by the buffalo. When the master of the pound finished his prayer of thanks, the pipe was offered to the oldest bull. After that they started in to shoot with bow and arrow, for the use of the gun was forbidden within the pound. After all the buffalo had been killed, the sacrifices were taken down and each buffalo was touched with them. Then the buffalo were butchered. The sacrifices that hung on the pole were taken to a distant hill and left there. If they took the red flannel or tobacco for themselves, they would have bad luck, perhaps death (5)".

Although the buffalo was the main source of food for the Assiniboine, other animals and birds were also hunted for food. These have been listed by Denig in their order of importance(6). The animals eaten were the buffalo, antelope, elk, deer, wolf, red fox, grey fox, porcupine, badger, skunk, rabbit, hare, ermine, otter, mind, beaver, muskrat, lynx, mouse, ground squirrel, water turtle, horse and dog. Birds eaten included the crow, magpie, owl, duck, goose, crane and pelican. The eagle was not eaten.

Buffalo, antelope and deer were also hunted individually in winter when the snow was deep and the animals were unable to make much progress. Hunters on snow-shoes would then kill these animals with relative ease. At other times antelope and deer were stalked by the individual hunter.

Elk were also hunted by groups of men, on foot. These animals were found in large numbers in the timbered regions of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

The grizzly bear was killed only in self-defense, which deed was accorded the same rank as killing an enemy. At the killing of any bear in self-defense or otherwise a definite ceremony was performed to placate the spirit of the bear. This forms part of the wide-spread bear ceremonialism found throughout northern Asia and America.

Wolves and foxes were caught in deadfalls, as were magpies and other birds. These deadfalls were made by planting sticks in the ground with a cross-piece supporting a heavy series of beams loaded with rocks. The whole was propped up by means of a stick trigger to which the bait is fastened.

Small sacrifices were made to wolves in an attempt to prevent these from inflicting harm, as in biting when mad.

Sacrifices were also made to various animal spirits that they might aid the hunter to have success. Returning Hunter, my informant, always left the first deer killed in the season for the birds of the air, especially the eagle and the "bullet hawk". Had he failed to leave such sacrifices, the eagles and the "bullet hawk" would

have seen to it that he received bad-luck in all his future hunting expeditions.

Various other expedients were used by Returning Hunter to ensure success in the hunt. His reputation was that of being the best hunter among the Assiniboine. At an early age he paid a horse to a holy medicine man, or wincasta wakon, to give him the power to trap many foxes. In receiving this power he also received the obligation to blacken the sides of his nose before retiring on the eve of fox hunting. His attitude was pragmatic, for he noticed that whenever he blackened the sides of his nose he always succeeded in trapping fox for their furs, while the time that he failed to do so, he was unable to trap any fox. At the same time, Returning Hunter received the power to wear two hawk feathers on his head that he might have their good luck by imitating their ways in hunting.

The obtaining of these good luck charms was based upon some observation of the relation between cause and effect. This is seen in the following remarks of Returning Hunter:

> "I once gave a horse to a holy man, that I might have even better luck in hunting. This holy man got the claws of the chickadee and tied them to my whistle. By whistling I could now put all the game that I hunted to sleep. After I received these chickadee claws I decided to try them out to see if they would work. I then went hunting on the north bank of the Missouri, southeast of the reservation. Looking off in the distance I saw a black-tailed buck lying in the open. The buck was quite a way off. I had a spy glass with me that I had received from a trader. Looking into it I saw two chickadees resting on some timber near the deer. Soon they left that place and came to rest on the horns of the deer and it wasn't long before the deer was fast asleep. I ran the distance to the deer and shot and killed him before he could awake. My charm had worked."

At the same time good luck could be received from dreams. Returning Hunter had once fasted and then gone to sleep in the hope of having some bird spirit confer power upon him. His request was answered by the presence of the hawk spirit in his dream. Thereafter, many were the times that the hawk spirit aided him in killing deer and other game.

The element of chance played an important part in Assiniboine life. There were many seasons in which game became scarce and starvation became in consequence a serious threat. By insuring themselves through the obtaining of power, the Assiniboine hunters felt certain that the risk in obtaining a good food supply was largely overcome.

One important reason for the annual giving of the Sun Dance was that the performance of that sacred ceremony brought rain. Rain made the grass grow tall that the buffalo might graze and become fat. Well-fed buffalo in turn meant a good food supply for the Assiniboine. A good food supply meant that the Assiniboine would be in good health and that food would be had in plenty for the growing children.

Besides, the annual buffalo chase was conducted by the holy man who was in charge of the Sun Dance. This chase, which took place in the early spring, could be engaged in only after many prayers and sacrifices were made that no bad luck befall them. It was largely ceremonial in character and reflected in part the importance of religious forms in assuring food for the Assiniboine.

The complexes of hunting were in a sense similar to those of warfare. Throughout all of Assiniboine culture ran patterns that were the crystallized frame of reference and index that distinguish this culture in the minds of its participants. In the previous description of the pound the pattern of a band chief was transferred to the buffalo, in the sense that each herd had one old bull who was the nominal chief and to whom the pipe was presented before the slaughter of the other buffalo began. At times, this old bull was given his freedom, in the same manner as an individual enemy who was allowed to escape when an enemy party was ambushed, although in the case of the buffalo, the pattern was one of friendship.

Each young hunter sacrificed the first game that he killed by cutting it up and leaving it on the plains for the birds of prey and the wolves and coyotes. This was always done with the idea in mind of receiving the good luck to kill game in such quantity as to leave some behind on the plains. At the same time it was a fervent wish, by leaving the first game so, to be successful in warfare, for little difference existed between the successful hunter and the successful warrior. All of the successful warriors had in turn been successful hunters, for the power that made them proficient in war also operated in the hunt.

In the preparing of food the Assiniboine cut meat of game animals in broad thin slices. These were generally hung in the tipi in winter time and were placed over the fire on horizontal poles so that the smoke could penetrate. This method dried the meat by smoking and in a few days made it fit for storage. In summer time meat was dried by placing it in the sun on poles, so that the dogs would not be able to reach it. Pemmican was made by pounding the dried meat with berries of various sorts and then mixing it with molten marrow fat. The mixture was then placed in parfleches, or decorated raw-hide bags for storage.

Dogs were eaten only at ceremonial affairs. Young puppies were tied to the tipi and fed with the richest of food until they became fat. They were then strangled, their hair singed off over an open fire, washed and butchered; the meat was boiled. Its taste was considered similar to that of fresh pork. Old dogs were rarely eaten because of the toughness of the meat. The eating of young dogs has continued to the present day and a feast of dog meat always precedes the second phase of the Hand-Game.

Besides meat, no Assiniboine meal was complete without berries and wild vegetables. The list of vegetables, berries and roots eaten was extensive. Prairie, or wild turnips were dried and stored after pounding. Wild rhubarbs were gathered in the late spring. The leaves were cut off and the plant dried. It was also eaten fresh. Berries eaten included the service-berry, the bull berry, june berry, choke-cherry, gooseberry, strawberry and red willow berry, the latter eaten only in times of famines. Berries were either eaten when ripe, or pounded with dried meat to form pemmican. The rarer fruits, such as the wild plum and the wild grape, were eaten fresh whenever found.

Meat, however, formed the "real food"; berries and wild vegetables being considered as appetizers for the meat courses. Like the other plains tribes, the Assiniboine felt themselves to be starving, were their meat supply suddenly cut down; this despite the fact that their vegetable supply might be sufficient to actually prevent starvation.

Meat was generally boiled. Boiling before the introduction of metal kettles consisted in pegging a buffalo paunch to the ground, filling with water and then bringing the water to boil by the throwing in of red hot stones. The meat was then thrown in and the water kept boiling by the replenishing of the heated stones. Meat was also roasted by placing the meat on a spit and turning it around over an open fire.

Fish were also eaten by the Assiniboine, whenever they could be procured. These included eels, catfish, carp, or buffalo fish, flat-fish and mud-suckers. The Missouri and Milk Rivers were favorite fishing haunts before the opening of the reservation.

Fish were also speared by sharpening cherry bush branches and striking at the fish from river banks. Both the corral method and the spearing of fish were received from the Northern, or Canadian Assiniboine during the early part of the nineteenth century.

With the introduction of the hook and line by the white traders, fish were caught in winter-time by breaking a hole in the ice and baiting the hook.

Fish were cleaned, then boiled or roasted; never dried. As an augmentation to their meat and vegetable diet, fish became an important source of food supply during all seasons.

Birds' eggs were also eaten;these always raw. Eagle, crow, and magpie eggs were never eaten because of their bad taste.

As noted in the early historical sources, trade was carried on by the Assiniboine with the agricultural villages of the upper Missouri for corn, squash, beans and pumpkins. Wild rice was also gathered in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg, although the exact method of preparing this wild rice is unknown to present-day informants.

In the number of meals eaten during the day, Denig's data cannot be superseded:

> "The number of meals in each twenty-four hours depends altogether on the supply of meat on hand. If plenty, each lodge cooks regularly three times per day,at day break, midday and dark. But in addition to this, pieces are kept roasting by the fire by the women and children nearly all the time.
>
> "Feasting is also common...In time of plenty most of the men eat six, eight, ten and as high as twenty times during day and night. In times of comparative scarcity but two meals are had, morning and night...When meat is very nearly exhausted one meal must suffice and for the rest the women and children are sent to dig roots or gather berries as the season and place affords. Feasts would then be de-

> sirable, but there is no one to make them, all being in want. Some who have nothing at all to eat in their lodges will send their children to watch when cooking is going on in another lodge, who report to their parents and the man happens to drop in at the right time. No Indian eats before guests without offering them a share, even if it is the last portion they possess (7)."

Periods of famine occurred with frequency in the aboriginal life. Buffalo would fail to make their appearance, because of the shortness of the grass, or because of deep snow; other game would go elsewhere and the supply of dried meat would decline. In 1841, for example, Denig states, a complete disappearance of the buffalo took place. Little game was to be found anywhere and "some of the Assiniboine and Cree were under the necessity of eating their own children, of having others to perish and many men and women died from fatigue and exhaustion(8). At that time a few cases of cannibalism under dire stress took place when the food supply became depleted (9).

The coming of starvation had definite stages in the gathering of edible food:

> "When no meat can be found they eat up their reserve of dried berries, pomme blanche and other roots, then boil the scrapings of rawhide, with the buds of the wild rose, collect old bones on the prairie, pound them and extract the grease by boiling. A still greater want produces the necessity of killing their dogs and horses for food, but this is the last resort and approach of actual famine, for by this means they are destroying their mediums of traveling and hunting (10)."

With the precariousness of the food supply, despite the frequent occurence of great herds of buffalo, an ever-continuing threat to Assiniboine life, it is thus seen what power, or "medicine" can mean to the Assiniboine in the form of surety. In fact, with the development of fishing patterns in the nineteenth century, "medicine" was made to be sold that would guarantee that fish be caught, or that they be speared, to offset the element of chance (11).

Clothing

Changes had occurred in clothing patterns among the Assiniboine throughout the historical period. Descriptions of McDonnell and Henry the younger in the period between 1793-1810 make it seem probable that the Cree type of dress was had in contrast to the Sioux pattern (12). Hair forms changed with each period with Carver's claim that the women wore their hair in rolls, similar to the early Cheyenne (13), to the hair dress of 1793, with the hair worn unbraided and long on one side and short on the other (14) to the period of 1811, when the hair was coiled on top of the head (15), to the three braids of Maximilian's time in 1833 (16). In other words, fashions changed in head dress and clothes even among the Assiniboine. What was the style in one era, would not be worn in the next. Although designs of fashioning clothes changed, the forms worn remained fairly constant, until the introduction of white clothing.

Clothing was almost entirely of buffalo skins, although moose hide made very durable moccasins and were sometimes used. The dress for men followed this formula: buffalo robe, with the hair inside for winter wear, a shirt, either fringed or not, of the same buffalo hide, leggings that reached to the hip, a breech-clout, most often cloth in the early part of the nineteenth century and summer and winter moccasins, unsoled in its earlier form and soled as a later development.

The form then of women's dress consisted of the same buffalo robe as that of the men, a long garment of buffalo hide, caped or otherwise, leggings, shorter than the men and undecorated unsoled moccasins. From the introduction of white trade on, changes were occurring that made one form of dress typical from the point of view of time.

The first use of woolen goods for breech-clouts was noted by Harmon in 1801. Two types of breech-clouts were observed by him; one made of cloth and the other made of dressed a antelope skin (17).

Maximilian gave not one description of Assiniboine dress; but many. Contact with surrounding tribes had brought in new elements of decoration and new patterns of dress, while contact with the white traders was beginning to modify the aboriginal dress from the point of view of variation. It must, however, be remembered that cloth clothing was worn primarily in spring and summer; the buffalo skin type of dress being more serviceable for rough winter wear. The introduction of the porcupine quilled rosette must have undoubtedly taken place a little before Maximilian's coming. The braiding of hair is also first noticed in Maximilian's observations.

Scarlet blankets, red woolen shirts and cloth leggings were but few of the many introductions of new forms of clothing, introduced by the white traders and worn by the more prosperous Assiniboine. The poorer Assiniboine had to content themselves with wearing of clothes of aboriginal form and style.

The forms of clothes and ornaments were extensive in Assiniboine culture. Page after page could be quoted from Maximilian and the other early travelers to show the complexity of dress and ornament in Assiniboine culture. In clothes alone, a fundamental pattern existed, upon which was based the superstructure of individual variation in details. In Denig's time, that of the period between the thirties and fifties of the last century, a statistical norm of the winter dress worn on the plains would be that of buffalo robe, leggings, cloth breech-clout and moccasins.

Tattooing as a mark of decoration and ornament was also engaged in by the Assiniboine. Children of prosperous parents were tattooed at an early age, generally between the age of ten to fourteen. The tatooing was done by some medicine man skilled in the art upon a present of one to two horses. Children had their faces and arms tatooed; warriors their entire body.

Shelter

A difference existed in the description of the Assiniboine tipi given by Lewis and Clark in 1805 and that of the later travelers; namely, in the fact that four poles were used as a foundation instead of the later three poles (18). The description of the putting up of an Assiniboine tipi as given by Henry the younger in 1809 makes it seem probable that the three pole foundation was used at that time by the Assiniboine. The description is meager and lacking in detail and the statement that "Two poles are tied together about three feet from the top" (19) may imply a three pole foundation, since the present-day tipi foundation is that of the two rear tipi poles being first tied together, to be then tied to the third, or door-post pole.

Not every Assiniboine woman could cut the tipi cover. This work required the services of a specialist, whose services had to be paid for liberally. A feast was always given to this woman and her assistants. The tipi cover was usually made of ten to fifteen tanned buffalo hides, sewn together with sinew. After being sewn together it was in shape a three-quarters of a circle. The two rear poles were tied together and then drawn up with the third, or door-post pole. A long cord was fastened over these three poles and the loose end dropped to the ground. The fourth pole was then placed to the left of the door post, with five poles following to the left of the fourth pole and then three poles following to the right of the first pole. Three poles were placed against the two rear poles and the loose end of the cord, now tied to all the tipi poles, was then pegged in the ground. The cover was raised on the last tipi pole and pegged together with sticks below and above the door opening.

The tipi vents were about a foot long, one end being fastened to a pole placed on the south side so as to close the top of the tipi at night and during wind storms. The bottom of the tipi was kept down either by clods of turf or more commonly by large stones. With the introduction of canvas tipi covers, the cover was pegged to the ground with sharpened pegs. Tipis when new were white, but they were soon blackened by smoke. Tipis were decorated and painted, according to the achievements and dreams of the males within. No one was allowed to paint his tipi unless he received that right through dreams or gifts, else bad luck would befall the inmates (20). The fireplace within the tipi was generally a ring of stones to prevent the ashes from scattering. Tipis made of buffalo skins generally lasted about three years, at which time new covers were made, the old covers being used for leggings and moccasins, according to Denig (21). The opening to the tipi was from one to two feet above the ground and was closed at night by a hanging cover, made of a framework of willow boughs and covered with buffalo hide.

The interior of a tipi as seen by a visitor in Denig's time would be the following: On entering the tipi, the visitor would see to the right of the door the place for the storage of water, to the right of that would be the place for the dressed skins; then the place for the grandfather or the uncle; then the storage place for baggage again, the place for the gun, the wives' places, female visitors and relatives. Opposite the door would be the places of the brother-in-law and other relatives, next to them the honor place reserved for visitors and strangers. On the left hand side of the door would be the place for the children, the eldest wife and the man of the tipi and the storage places for meat, pans and kettles. While over the fire would be seen racks of meat in the process of drying.

In going out the door, the visitor would see on the right of him piles of wood for the fire (though, in encampments away from timber, buffalo chips would be used), in front of that the lance with its medicine bag and shield. To the left of the door would be seen the fresh meat hung on racks, the whole covered with rawhide and in front of that the dog-travois piled together in an upright fashion (22).

A temporary traveling or hunting shelter was observed by Maximilian (23), made by placing poles in the ground, setting the dog-travois against these and then covering with boughs.

Sweat lodges for medicinal purposes were constructed of willows. These were stuck in the ground and bent and tied together until they assumed an oval shape. They were then covered with skins pinned to the willow work. Sweat lodges were about three to five feet high and about fifteen feet in circumference. Sweating was induced by throwing cold water upon rocks that had been previously heated outside. After sweating, the inmates plunged into a nearby stream, or in winter-time rubbed themselves with snow(24).

Two types of sweat lodges were in vogue among the Assiniboine; namely, the type used for ordinary sweating to be built by anyone and the lodge used for the sweating ceremony performed each spring by a medicine man (25). Sweating was considered a cure-all by the Assiniboine and during the various small-poz epidemics, many lost their lives from spending an hour or two in the sweat lodge and then plunging into an icy stream.

Mention should also be made that here as in dress, the size of the tipi and its decorations was a reflection of the status of the head of the family living within.

Transportation

Due to the shortage of horses in Assiniboine culture, dogs were the main item in transportation. Where the hunter owned too few horses, the game was either carried back to camp on the backs of the men and women, or tied to the dog-travois. The Assiniboine travois was distinguished from the travois of other tribes in its circular center piece, made of thongs of rawhide. Dogs were able to transport from fifty to one hundred pounds on these travois, both summer and winter (26). Dogs were owned by the women and each tipi had from five to ten dogs to transport its possessions when on the march.

Transportation in 1851 had changed little from that of 1800. In the latter year Henry, the younger, noted the universal use, among the Assiniboine, of the dog for transporting baggage: (27)

At Fort Vermilion in 1800, Alexander Henry counted two hundred and thirty dog travois for a group of thirty-five Assiniboine (28).

In 1820, about seventy years after the introduction of the horse, the plains type of bridle, stirrups and saddle as used by the Assiniboine was described by Harmon as follows:

> "They do not often use bridles, but guide their horses with halters made of ropes, which are manufactured from the hair of the buffalo, strong and durable. On the back of the horse, they put a dressed buffalo skin, on the top of which, they place a pad, from which are suspended stirrups, made of wood and covered with the skin of the testicles of the buffalo (29)."

Horses were rarely used by war-parties; these going mainly on foot to the enemy country. The visualized picture of plains Indians surrounding an enemy camp at dawn on horseback was a picture that was not always true of the Assiniboine (30). In the sixties and seventies of the past century some Assiniboine war-parties used horses, though it was not the rule; the hope being on these war-parties to steal enemy horses in order to make a rapid retreat. In all the descriptions of war parties that I received from old informants, only one mentioned the use of horses. Lack of fast horses was but one factor (31).

The Assiniboine snowshoe was elongated and somewhat oval. Its manufacture was described by Harmon in 1820:

> "They take a piece of wood and with a crooked knife work it down until it is about two inches wide and an inch thick, these sticks are fastened together at one end, which constitutes the hind part; they are then bent so as to be about a foot asunder in the middle and to come nearly together forward. The space between these sticks, they fill up with a lace work of thongs of deerskin (32)."

Babies were carried either in the Cree type of cradle, with its flat board and bow bent across the front, or by means of a baby sack with eyed holes made of scarlet or blue cloth in which the child was wrapped (33).

For water transportation the Assiniboine used the Missouri bullboat, made of a willow framework and covered with a buffalo hide, or part of a discarded tipi cover. Bullboats were always paddled with the current. At the same time references exist of the use of bark canoes by some of the Assiniboine in the eighteenth century. Cocking in 1773 had noted that the Assiniboine went yearly to the woods at a point one hundred and twenty miles northeast of present-day Warman, Saskatchewan to cut bark for the annual trip to Hudson Bay (34).

Material Possessions

It is difficult at this late date to list the varieties and manufacture of the various tools and implements used by the Assiniboine in the days before white contact. The varieties as given by the early travelers and traders included the following, description being lacking: Flint hatchets, stone war clubs, humprib knives, shoulder-blade axes, bone awls and flint stones of various kinds for tanning and fleshing skins. To these must be added the rough wooden bowl and buffalo horn spoon. The sinew-backed bow, stone and bone arrow points, lances and clubs constituted the main weapons of war. With the development of trade in the middle part of the nineteenth century most of the aboriginal tools and implements were displaced by metal tools of white origin, or else by metal purchased from the trader which was then fashioned in the aboriginal pattern. In the days before the opening of the reservation two types of arrow heads existed: the bone pointed head and the metal, or iron arrowhead.

The tanning of buffalo skins was woman's work, although men and boys aided in the skinning, stretching and drying of the skins of the wolf, bear, fox, rabbit, beaver, hare, ermine, lynx and other animals. The amount of labor involved for the woman in tanning a buffalo skin was that of back-breaking toil of two full days. As a result twenty-five to thirty-five robes finished during the winter was considered excellent work (35).

The technique in tanning buffalo skins was completely described by Denig, as well as a description of the various tools used in the operation:

> "The hide of the buffalo to make a robe is taken off in two halves... The first process it undergoes afterwards is taking off the portions of meat and membranes adhering to it, so that it will present the smooth, clear skin. This is done with the tool made from the shinbone of the elk. The lower end is cut to an edge and small teeth made therein. The skin is hung up at one corner to a pole and the meat is dug off by hoeing down with the instrument, which is held firmly in the upper end. A woman will finish this operation on two whole skins or four halves in one day. Next the skin is stretched to dry. Holes are cut through it near the edge. In summer it is pinned to the ground by wooden pegs, or in winter when the ground is frozen, stretched on a frame of four poles tied together and a small fire built to dry it. When dry the next thing to be done is to scrape it: to hoe off about one third the thickness of the hide. This is done with an iron tool about three and a half inches long, one and a half inches wide and an eighth of an inch thick. Formerly a flint stone was used for this purpose, but the iron tool answering better is now substituted. This piece of iron being sharpened on one edge is tied, at right angles to a handle made of elk's horn, cut off at one of the forks, so as to afford a protection to fasten it, being held in both hands. The hide is laid on the ground, the woman stands upon it and stooping, digs off the hide in shavings, until of the proper thickness. This occupies about half a day to each whole hide and is very fatiguing. Grease is then melted, sprinkled sparingly over the skin and it is suspended over a small fire for a few hours that the grease may penetrate;then taken down and smeared over with the brains or livers of some animal boiled in water, being soaked thoroughly and left all night in this state. In the morning it is again stretched on the frame, the liver scraped off, clean water thrown on and scraped off until the hide becomes white. A fire is then made near and the skin slowly heated and rubbed with pumice stone or porous bone until it is half dry, then taken out of the frame and drawn backwards and forwards until it becomes perfectly dry and soft. This is also hard work. A good hand will rub two whole skins or four halves in one day. The skin is now dressed, the holes made for stretching it around the edges are cut off and it is sewed up along the back with an awl and sinew which takes about half an hour to each two halves of the buffalo (36)".

Deer and elk skins were prepared in about the same manner as the buffalo hides, with the single exception of their being skinned whole rather than in halves (37).

In smoking the skin the hide was sewn up and the lower end pegged around a smoldering fire (38).

The division of labor for the women was stated concisely by Denig:

> "Owing to the length of time required to stretch, scrape, dry, dress and smoke even one skin it will be seen that the labor of the woman is much greater than that of the man and she must have help or she could not attend to the domestic affairs of a large family...
>
> "Sometimes an Indian's woman will accompany him to the hunt and aid in skinning and butchering the animal, but this is only when the buffalo are near the camp. She never participates in his labors on other occasions.
>
> "The usual occupations of the women are to prepare the skins and dress them, which is a tedious and laborious operation; to cut up the meat in thin slices and dry it; to make all the clothing for the family, make lodges, cook, take care of their children and dogs, bring wood and water, pack and unpack animals, erect the tents, strike them, arrange the interior, carry burdens in traveling, render grease, pound meat, work at garnishing with beads and porcupine quills, make dog travailles (travois), saddle and unsaddle the master's horse etc. (39)."

Division of Labor for Men

Although the burden of labor was placed upon the backs of women in aboriginal Assiniboine society, yet the culture was such as to keep the men mainly occupied in varied activities. The early Indian agents attributed the lack of incentive to take up farming and agricultural labor on the part of the men as due to laziness. Such was not the case. The complex of farm labor was considered by the men to fall into the category of woman's work, since in the pre-reservation days it was woman's work to gather vegetable food and pick berries. To force the men into farming was to strike at patterns that affected the difference between men and women. On the other hand, the hunting of animals belonged in the category of man's labor and no difficulty was involved in the men's trapping animals and going off to hunt game around the reservation. At the same time, little encouragement was needed for the care of the cattle that were first given them, since the care of these animals fitted within the categorical patterns of collecting, watering and guarding horses which were considered definitely part of the domain of masculine labor.

About one-third of a man's time was spent in hunting for his family. Married men with families rarely engaged in warfare; this being left to the younger and unmarried men, or those without families. Time was also consumed by the man in making his own bows, arrows and other implements required in hunting. The getting of horses and their care were also his work. The making of traps for fur-bearing animals and the finishing of their skins was work that no woman ever engaged in. Besides, the entire ceremonial life revolved about him and time had to be spent in attending feasts, council meetings and the various ceremonials. If the camp were ambushed by enemies, it would be his work to defend his family by fighting. It was only with the abolition of warfare and the extinction of game that the time of the men began to hang heavy on their hands. New patterns had then to be developed to keep distinct the categories of men's and women's work.

The men were the carriers of the ceremonial and religious life in Assiniboine culture. This included the various ceremonial patterns for insuring an increase of the food supply and guaranteeing their existence in face of the dangers that lay dormant in having enemy tribes trespassing upon their territory both in hunting and warfare.

The picture held by many individuals that the males in the aboriginal society sat around smoking, while the women did all the drudgery is a picture that is definitely unrealistic and untrue. Hard work was part of the hunting complex, in the coming back to camp after a trip loaded down with meat that had been carried from distances varying from one to ten or twenty miles or more. The stealing of horses from enemy tribes, a complex most essential in procuring horses that could not be purchased, was fraught with risks and laborious marches. Life to the men in the aboriginal culture of the Assiniboine was attendant with greater danger, in possibilities of loss of life, than were faced by the women in the culture. These were patterns that had developed through centuries in the evolving of the culture and they were accepted by both the men and the women in the culture by virtue of their having been born within its domain.

Political Structure and Status

The band was the political unit

in Assiniboine life. It was autonomous in nature and completely sovereign. Individual affiliation within the band was loose, since it was relatively simple to form new bands, or for an individual to leave one and join another. An individual called himself a member of the band in which his parents had lived at the time of his birth. Upon marriage he could either elect to remain in his own or else join the band of his wife's people. Due to the fact that such affiliation was not too infrequently changed, the members of a band were normally related to one another.

The band was primarily territorial in character. Each band hunted over a different portion of territory; the bands coming together only at certain seasons of the year when the important ceremonials were given. At times the various units were so separated by distance that few of them could get together, say for the annual Sun-Dance. As a result it often occurred that two and even three performances of the Sun-Dance were given simultaneously by various bands in different parts of Assiniboine territory. Such an occurrence took place as late as 1882, when one Sun-Dance was held east of present day Malta, Montana, while the other was held west of Lake Bowdoin (40).

Over and above the cohesion of the individual band was a feeling of nationalism based upon relationship, either near or distant, with the members of the other bands. The term Nakota was used to include all individuals of groups felt to have had common origin in the dim past. Little contact was had by the American Assiniboine with the Stony Assiniboine of the Rocky Mountain section of Alberta, or for that matter with the so-called Swampy-Ground Assiniboine living northwest of Lake Winnepegosis in Canada, yet these groups were felt to be related and the tradition of common origin was handed down despite lack of contact. As an example, when, in 1896, some Stonies from Alberta visited the Fort Belknap Assiniboine in Montana for the first time (41), they were recognized by the latter as distant relatives; this on a basis of similarity of dialect and because they did not fall into the category of being affiliated with the various Dakota tribes. On this level common origin for both groups was assumed and the Stonies made welcome as visiting relatives.

On the coming together of several of the bands, either at trading posts or at the annual Sun-Dance, or because scarcity of game had compelled them to hunt in territory belonging to other bands, the dances of the various societies would be held, since these did not need to be held at specified times. War parties were also organized at this time among the young men of the different bands. In almost all cases war parties were representative of one to three bands, rather than of the tribe as a whole.

Inter-band feuds of momentary duration took place occasionally. These, however, were conflicts between two large families, rather than actual band affairs. As a rule they took place over a murder or the stealing of someone's wife. Where lasting grudges were held in these affairs, new bands were invariably formed of the conflicting partisans.

No formal political organization existed for the Assiniboine as a tribe. On coming together for the annual affairs the bands would camp in a huge circle, with each band having its specific place in this circle. Yet each band governed itself without interference during this stay. Occasionally, the various political units would form a co-operative pact, but this never proved permanent. Crazy Bear, one of the band chiefs of the American Assiniboine, was appointed tribal chief by the United States Commissioners at the treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851, yet his authority extended only over a few of the bands that were found in American territory at that time (42). The distant bands, as well as the Canadian Assiniboine, were little influenced by his authority.

Each band had its own chiefs, with one of the chiefs outstanding because of personality, its council, and Soldiers' society. Political decisions were made by each band individually. New bands were continually being formed under the leadership of some prominent chief and with these formations new councils and policing societies were organized on the basis of the already existent political patterns. The power of the band chief was nominal and could only be enforced through the co-operation of the band council and the warriors who formed the Agi'cita or Soldiers' society.

The size of the bands varied through the years. By assuming that eight individuals in a tipi formed the average dwelling unit, we infer that the bands in the early eighteenth century ranged from two hundred to eight hundred persons. References to their numbers are had in the journals of La Verendrye, although no names for these units are given. Thus mention is made of an encounter with a band of forty tipis in 1737 (43); of an encampment of one hundred and two tipis in 1738 (44); a band of sixty

tipis in 1739 (45); and a group of one hundred tipis in 1743 (46). Whether these groups formed distinct bands can only be assumed at this late date.

Names for these units were first given by John McDonnell in 1793, who lists them as distinct "tribes." His names include three that persisted into reservation days (Canoe, Girl's, Wood Mountain) (47), one that ceased to exist (Big Devil) and which later was named Mountain Village (48).

Lewis and Clark, whose visit was brief, list but three bands: Canoe (700 individuals), Girl's (850), and Big Devil (1600) or the later Mountain Village bands. Under Remarks, they wrote: "These bands act entirely independent of each other, although they claim a natural affinity and never make war on each other (49)."

Eleven minor bands, found mainly near trading posts and totaling 7000 individuals, were listed by Alexander Henry in 1807.

1. Little Girl (200 tipis), inhabiting Mouse River and Moose Hills.
2. Paddling and Foot (200), from the lakes of the Qu'Appelle River to the Missouri.
3. Canoe (160), living west of the Paddling and Foot bands.
4. Red River (24), living west of the Canoe.
5. Rabbit (30), living around Cypress Hills.
6. Stone (40), living near Thunder Mountain.
7. Eagle Hills (38),living between the Bear Hills and the South Branch of the Saskatchewan.
8. Those-Who-Have-Water-For-Themselves-Only (35), living near Skunk Hills.
9. Saskatchewan (50) from the South Branch of the Saskatchewan to Eagle Hills.
10. Foot (33), living west of Eagle Hills and south of the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River.
11. Strong Wood (40), living between Battle River and the South Saskatchewan (50).

Of the above listed bands, Maximilian in 1833 noted only the Girl's, Stone, Canoe, and Strong Wood bands. Added to the list for the first time were the Big band, Band of Old People, Mountain and Bones bands (51).

The six bands of American Assiniboine given by Denig, as of 1854, correlated in part with the more complete number later obtained by Lowie.

1. Wato'paxnau^{n}. In Denig's time this band was called after Left Hand, a chief who governed them about 1800. This is the Mountain Village band of present designation.
2. Wazi'a wintca'cta, or Northern People Originally this unit was called Lake People; the name being changed upon migration into the United States in 1839.
3. Wato'pabin, or Paddlers.
4. Witci'abin, or Girl's band.
5. I^{n}ya^{n}to^{n}'wa^{n}bin, or Stone band.
6. Hu'Deca'bine, or Red Buttock band. This group was formed about 1845 from a split in the Paddlers (52).

In the summer of 1935 I checked the list of bands as received by Lowie in 1908. The list as corrected both in phonetic spelling and notation follows:

1. Tca^{n}xta'da--The Strong Woods Assiniboine of Canada.
2. U^{n}ska'na--The Wanderers (Canada).
3. Wazi'a wintca'cta--Northern People. At present on Fort Belknap reservation.
4. Wato'paxnatu^{n}--The name means "Those who propel boats," suggesting a past affiliation with the Paddlers (Fort Belknap).
5. Tca^{n}xe wintca'cta--Wood Mountain People (Canada).
6. Tani^{n}'tabin--Buffalo Hip(Canada).
7. Hu'Deca'bine--Red Buttock (Canada).
8. Waci'aziya'bin--Fat Smokers (Canada).
9. Witci'abin--Girl's band (Fort Peck).
10. I^{n}ya^{n}'wa^{n}bin--Stone band (Canada).
11. Wato'pabin--Paddlers (Fort Peck).
12. Cu^{n}ktce'bi^{n}--Dog's Penis (Canada).
13. Cahi'aiyeskabin--Cree Talkers (Canada).
14. Xe'nato^{n}wa^{n}--Mountain Village (Fort Belknap).
15. Xe'Bina--Mountain band (Fort Peck).
16. Icna'umbisa--Those Who Stay Alone.
17. Ini'na^{n}u'mbi--Cypress Hills band (Canada) (53).

The pattern of behavior for the band chief formed the Assiniboine ideal of a "good man." Ideally, the chief's main concern was for his people. His interest in himself, or in his family, had to be submerged in this general reference to group welfare. Throughout the holding of his high rank, the chief strove to have himself well liked, since popularity was a prerequisite for the acceptance of his authority. This implied a certain amount of kindliness on his part. At the same time, it was necessary that he be generous with his

possessions. As a chief he had to give more feasts with their outlay of presents than any of the others in his band. Thus, another prerequisite for chieftainship was wealth, for the more given away at feasts the greater the number of individuals who would be obligated, in terms of the prevailing pattern. Since the chief was more often than not a successful hunter and warrior, he possessed supernatural power to a greater extent than any of his followers. As chief, this gift was to be used for the benefit of his group. As instance of this, I was told by Returning Hunter of his grandfather, Wing Crow, a band chief, who had gained power to cause buffalo to appear at will and whose popularity was greatly enhanced by the several times he had saved his people from starvation. As chief and leader of his people, no thanks were due him for this supernatural aid, such action being the obligation of office.

Again, due to the psychological set-up in the pre-reservation culture, the chief was expected not to injure the feelings of any of his followers. His behavior at all times was to be modest; his boasting to be restricted to the ceremonials where it was necessary to establish his right to his rank. The greater the chief in Assiniboine life, the more modest was his overt behavior to be. For although greatness came from success in warfare and the hunt and the receiving of "power" from various spirits, yet fame could be of little benefit were it to fail of recognition by most of the band members. The fundamental pattern in the ideal of a "good man" was behavior that would receive approbation. Only those were elected to chieftainship who came closest to this ideal in the judgment of the band. Wealth coupled with parsimony and selfishness could never serve as prerequisite for the rank of band chief.

The duties of the chief were similar to those of a presiding officer. Decisions on important matters were made by the band council, not the chief. At these meetings the chief's counsel was considered as an individual opinion, rather than as representing the voice of the band. Certain judgments could be made by him independent of interference by the council; these being the right to set the line of march when traveling, where camp should be made and when it should break up, the right to regulate the going out of war parties or the sanctioning of such parties, and the right to call councils on matters of general interest. Whenever the chief employed the prerogatives of his office, he could be certain of having his decisions enforced by the Soldier's society.

Where more than one chief existed within the band, one was selected to rank as leader. The other chiefs, however, were invited by the leader to confer on all matters that pertained to the office. These accepted the leadership of the head chief and never attempted to embarrass him by publicly acting without his knowledge and consent (54). The minor chiefs were important members of the council and in status ranked equally with the leader. A successful chief was able to exert his power in the council by utilizing the friendships of his under-chiefs. Yet, in estimating the power of the band chiefs, it must be remembered that in no case were they able to overrule the majority opinion of the band as expressed through the other members of the council.

The council was composed of those men within the band who had reached a high status through success in war and in the hunt. All men of family and all young warriors whose prestige was considered of sufficient importance by band opinion were eligible to join in the council meetings, there being no election to the office of councillor. The council was the legislative body of the band, no decisions being final unless made by it. Thus, no peace could be made with an enemy tribe without the majority consent of the council members present. At important affairs, such as occurred at gatherings of most of the Assiniboine bands, a council was formed that for the moment embraced the individual councils of the various bands. This had the right and the power to speak for the tribe as a whole. Such a gathering was brought together to pick representatives to meet the American commissioners at Fort Laramie in 1851.

Equalling the council in importance and rank was the Agi'cita or Soldier's society. These were the men whose function it was to act as a policing body in carrying out the decisions and policies of the chiefs and the council. In performance of duty they were to be superseded only by the agency police of the early reservation days. Members of this society were chosen from that group of men, twenty-five to forty-five years of age, who had previously distinguished themselves for bravery. The number of members varied. Denig stated that a band of two hundred tipis would have fifty to sixty men and a smaller unit of sixty tipis, ten to fifteen men(55).

Superficially, the power of the Soldier's society was such as to make it seem that they were the principal body within the band wielding political power. Larpenteur, whose stay with the Assiniboine paralleled that of Denig, was of the opinion that the

chief's power was of little consequence as compared with that of the soldiers (56). Larpenteur's observation may be based upon the fact that he confused the policing power of the soldiers with legislative power, which was theirs by reason of their right to sit in councils as warriors.

The duties of the soldiers were varied. Under the leadership of their head man, picked by them for his influence and bravery, they protected strangers in camp, punished individuals who hunted individually at a time when the entire camp was in need of buffalo, arranged preliminaries of trade and peace, and in general carried out the decisions of the council. If theft was committed in camp the soldiers made a search of each tipi in order to find the stolen goods. Theirs was not the power to punish the thief, except when the latter resisted the recovery of the goods. As members of the Soldier's society, they still continued to lead war parties and engage in warfare (57).

The form and function of the Agi'cita, or Soldier's society, was superficially so akin to the pattern of the white military police of the early reservation days that many of the present day Assiniboine were led to believe that the Agi'cita was an imitation of the white soldiery. That no imitation of pattern existed is evidenced by the policing of the Assiniboine line of march in the early eighteenth century, as observed by La Verendrye (58).

In every camp there existed one or two old men, in earlier life warriors and men of note, who notified the camp of all important decisions.

Although all individuals within Assiniboine society were felt to be equal in needs and consideration, yet not all were felt to have those qualifications necessary for social approval derived from the pattern of the "ideal" man. Definite gradations of status existed, based completely upon merits that were arbitrarily defined by tradition. The distinctions in status were approximate steps toward the culturally defined goal, from the individual least approved to the one idealized by group opinion.

For an individual to be highly respected as the symbolized "ideal," certain prerequisites were necessary. These included success in warfare, since without that membership in the various societies would be virtually impossible; good fortune in hunting, that lavish feasts be given; procuring of as many horses as possible through any available means, to have the status accorded to wealthy individuals and to have the enhanced prestige gained by the giving away of these animals; possession of certain "powers" that stamped the individual apart from others less fortunate; pragmatic knowledge; and women who would aid in storing up of non-income producing wealth. Coupled with these were the patterns of generosity, modesty, and consideration for those who formed group opinion.

There was no guarantee that rank once gained would continue to be held, since status was a purely relative matter in the judgment of the band, rank being defined in terms of competition for the cultural stamp of superiority.

Wealth of parents, however, was an important step in preparing a child for high status. Since the nucleus of rank depended mainly upon the desire to be well-known and considered by those who formed group opinion, the giving away of horses and presents by parents in order to have others praise their child was an important step toward eventually receiving social approval. An individual born to poverty would have a more difficult struggle to rise on the basis of his abilities to the higher levels of status, than one of equal merit whose way was prepared by well-to-do parents. At all important ceremonies and feasts, presents were given away by parents in order that the recipients might "pray" for their child. It was not only a matter of making certain that the child, by these means, would benefit as a recipient of supernatural aid, but also of importance that it have many well-wishing friends for later life. The acceptance of presents, whether in the form of horses or otherwise, definitely put the recipient under an obligation of friendship in later life.

Being old was of itself not sufficient to command respect. Old men and women were mainly respected for their past and the "powers" they still continued to enjoy. The concept "old" meant, to the Assiniboine, middle-aged, rather than old in the sense used today. The older a man became the more imperative it was for him to compensate for his lack of vigor by greater kindliness to children and adolescents. To most old men in the aboriginal culture, age was a matter of which to be ashamed. Physical weakness and loss of memory brought in its train a gradual lowering of respect and the feeling of being a burden upon relatives. This was felt most keenly by the aged and consequently most of them sought death by permitting themselves to be abandoned on the plains (59).

Shamans who had not made their reputation in warfare or in the hunt were not considered high in status. These were important to the society, but of little influence in fashioning or changing public opinion. The same prerequisites for rank applied to them as to others. Shamans who were considered important by the band were those who had aided their war parties in securing various successes, or those who had amassed non-imcome producing wealth through their supernatural gifts.

The most influential body of men in the band was comprised of those of family, between forty and fifty, who had been camp soldiers and warriors of some note, who, due to their age, did not engage to any extent in warfare. They were mainly interested in preserving their status through securing recognition of their past acts and by charitable deeds. Their great concern was with their children and with acting as arbiters of socially desirable behavior.

The rank of various individuals within the band was known by their outward manner of decorating robes and tipi covers.

Women had no rank or social status except the respect due them by relatives; the prerequisites of rank applied only to men. The influence of women in councils was minimal, as their participation in such gatherings was forbidden by tradition. As women, no comparison could be made between them and men. As in all Plains societies, patterns of status were definitely masculine in form, with tendencies toward feminine traits being held in derision.

Social Structure

The family was the least common denominator of Assiniboine culture. Definite obligations were placed upon the various members of a family, obligations rarely had toward individuals not relatives. Terms were had for three generations, ascending and descending from the speaker. No distinction was made collaterally between mother's and father's sides. Distinction was made between older and younger brother were a man speaking, although no distinction was made between elder and younger sister. A woman, on the other hand made distinction in speaking between elder and younger sister, but not of brothers on the basis of age.

The term mother meant not only the real mother, but also her sisters and her female parallel cousins. The term father included the father's brothers and all his male cousins. The term neksi, or uncle, was for all the mother's brothers, as well as her cross-cousins. The term tuwi, or aunt, included the father's sisters, as well as his cross-cousins. The term taha^{n}si was used toward all male offspring of those called uncle, or aunt, while ha^{n}ga'si was used toward all the female offspring of those called uncle, or aunt. With the exception of the terms used for cousin, none of the terms were reciprocative. Terms were had for in-laws with special terms used by the women of each side of the family related by marriage. All offspring of those called mother and father, respectively, were called brother and sister by the speaker, distinction also being made whether they were older or younger than the speaker and of the same sex. The term brother-in-law included, whether man or woman speaking, all the husbands of those called sister. The same distinction being made for father-in-law, mother-in-law and sister-in-law. Step-children were called by the same kinship terms as children; that also being true of adopted children. Personal names were never used in the aboriginal culture; relatives, no matter what their degree of relationship, were called by the culturally defined kinship terms. The term grandmother as well as the term grandfather were used toward those considered to be in a relationship of mother or father to those called by those terms by the speaker. The same being true of the reciprocative terms, grandson and granddaughter.

Within the family the youngest and eldest child received the most affection and attention from the parents. When Returning Hunter told me that his step-father treated him more like a younger brother, than as a son, he meant to imply that he was treated as an equal, yet with that attitude of equality which coupled kindness and a great deal of consideration. The younger brother received the protection of the elder brothers and along with this protection went the right to use their property as his own. In fact, Many Coos insisted that the youngest child received more affection and attention than did the eldest and that this form of behavior was definitely crystallized within the family.

A close bond existed between grandparents, mainly on the mother's side because of a generalized matrilocal residence, and grandchildren. The bond was as close as between parents and children. It was the grandfather who brought the child into the various societies and who gave away horses that the child might be recog-

nized by the group. And it was both the grandmother and grandfather that aided in the character formation of the young. Grandparents were obeyed as implicitly as parents. When a grandparent, on either side, objected to his grandson going off on a war party, the young man, theoretically, was supposed to respect his kin's feelings by refusing to go. Where the child was left an orphan by the death of his parents, he was taken by the grandparents, of either side, to be brought up as their own child.

Between those "uncles", or the individuals called "father," a definite relationship existed. Those held in the father relationship had definite obligations towards their nephews. Their property was their nephews' as well and in return they could use the property of their nephews. When Returning Hunter returned from horse raiding expeditions, he always presented a horse to his uncles, as an obligation on his part. In return the uncle aided his nephew in joining societies, especially was this true where the grandfather were dead. Like the grandfather, the uncle could not be disobeyed by the nephew. And where an uncle frowned upon a nephew taking part in a war or horse raiding party, the latter was expected not to take part.

The mother's cross-cousin, called "uncle," had definite obligations toward his nephew in aiding him to become a man of property and status, and the nephew reciprocated by aiding the uncle with meat and horses.

Status could be lost by not showing the proper respect toward grandparents. Meat and game had always to be supplied by these, else the grandchild's obligations would be considered unfulfilled.

Cousins were unable to marry each other. This included all parallel, as well as cross-cousins unto the second degree. It is interesting to note that although cross-cousins were forbidden to marry, yet definite obligations existed between mother's cross-cousin and nephew. Concerning cousins, it was considered most proper not to marry any individual with whom relationship could be traced. Consequently, most marriages took place outside the band, since bands were felt by the Assiniboine to be but enlarged families.

The sororate existed within Assiniboine culture. Where more than one wife was desired , the extra wives were taken from the younger sisters of the wife. A man had definite rights to his wife's younger sisters as potential wives, and these could not marry others without his permission.

A definite joking relationship existed between brother-in-law and sister-in-law, this being especially pronounced between the husband and the actual sisters of the wife. All sorts of liberties could be taken with these, with the bantering definitely of a sexual nature. At Fool's Dances, all sorts of practical jokes were played upon sisters-in-law with the latter retaliating whenever possible. At all times, insults could be passed freely between those who stood in such a relationship. Anger that resulted from such bantering was considered as a bad breach of etiquette and thus rarely occurred.

The mother-in-law, as well as the father-in-law taboos were pronounced in Assiniboine culture. This applied most strongly to the son-in-law, although the daughter-in-law was not allowed to speak or look at her father-in-law. These taboos were felt to be externals of behavior toward "respect" relatives. In the early years of marriage a man was expected to hunt for his father-in-law and aid him with horses, whenever he returned from raiding expeditions. Under no circumstances was a man supposed to talk to his mother-in-law, or father-in-law in the early years of marriage. Nor under any circumstances was the son-in-law to look at these newly acquired relatives, nor enter any tipi where they were present. Were a father-in-law to enter a lodge where his son-in-law was visiting, the latter would be compelled to cover his face with his blanket, while the former would be required to turn his back to the place where his son-in-law was sitting. The names of those in this relationship were not supposed to be mentioned and whatever business had to be done had to be transacted through the medium of the daughter, or a stranger. In these transactions the kinship terms were used. Only by special invitation was the son-in-law allowed to enter the tipi of his father-in-law.

The taboo toward these in-laws was modified somewhat, for the taboo could never be completely removed, after a son-in-law returned victorious from war. At this time he sent word to his father-in-law and mother-in-law to meet him before his entry into the camp. At a place nearby, the son-in-law blackened the faces of both his mother-in-law and father-in-law and presented them with a scalp taken from an enemy. An individual who was unable to give his mother and father-in-law a scalp was considered no war-

rior. However, in certain cases horses, guns, or bows and arrows taken from the enemy were considered to serve the same purpose as a scalp. With the giving of this scalp, the relationship between these in-laws was considered to be less "bashful." The son-in-law was now "highly respected" by his parents-in-law. He could now speak to them in case of necessity and even enter their tipi without an invitation, although on ordinary occasions he was expected to behave with the proper amount of decorum.

Step-children were considered as children, as pointed out previously. Cases did occur in which men married their own step-children, but such men were looked down upon with contempt by the others. A case did occur within historic times when one band chief lost status by marrying his own stepdaughter, although no other action was taken against him. Even though this individual continued as band chief, resentment was strong against him and he lost many friends because of this marriage.

Orphans were taken by the nearest relatives and raised as their own children. The children were most often taken by the nearest relatives on the mother's side, the grandparents, if they were living, or failing these the mother's sisters or brothers. In some cases, the children were taken by the paternal grandparents if the maternal grandparents were dead. No crystallized pattern existed on this score and at times the children might be taken by more distant relatives. Kindness to orphans, however, was considered an important element in the formation of the ideals of a "good" man or woman. Kindness implied the adopting of orphans who were unable to be supported by the nearest of their relatives.

Besides the obligations of members of the family toward one another, obligations also existed between individuals who called one another "kona," or friend. This was a type of relationship similar in form to brotherhood adoption. Like many of the tribes of the plains area an important relationship existed between pairs of men. A comrade, or friend, could be taken from the tribe or from a neighboring tribe, such as the Cree, Crow, Blackfoot, or western Sioux. A comrade was considered for all intents and purposes a member of the family and obligations toward him were the same as toward any other member of the intimate family. As a rule the relationship of "kona" was begun when the pair were youths. The initiative in bringing the pair together was generally taken by some influential member of the band, often a warrior or one of the band chiefs. The two were brought together, agreed to become comrades and a feast was then given, at which they were publicly announced as comrades, or "brothers." The public announcer was given a horse and he then proceeded to make the round of the camp telling what had happened and urging the people to treat this new comrade as a member of the tribe. If members of the new comrade's tribe were present at this feast, they would be showered with gifts by the band that acted as host. The relatives of the comrade, both male and female gave as much as they possibly could, in order to publicly display their new love for their relative's recently acquired "brother." The obligations in this relationship were that neither of the pair could go on war parties against one another's tribe. At the same time the property of one became the property of the other and each was to be helped in time of need by the other. They were never to quarrel, nor show signs of irritation with each other. And as far as niggardliness was concerned, there was no greater disgrace for an Assiniboine than failure to fulfill the obligations toward a comrade.

Societies

Both the young and old men in Assiniboine society were grouped in various organizations for the purpose of ceremonially aiding the "welfare" of the tribe. Although no age-grade societies existed among the Assiniboine, a rough correlation was had in membership of certain societies with the age of the participants, in the sense that certain societies were only open to men of experience and wealth, which requirements would naturally exclude most of the young men.

There was little social dancing for dancing's sake at Assiniboine camp circles. All dancing was mainly ceremonial in purpose and participation was usually restricted to members only. Membership in these societies was by invitation from one of the leading members. Women never joined in the dances of these societies; their dancing being restricted to the Sun-Dance, the Victory Dance, the woman's dance and the dances of the Horse Society.

With the exceptions of the Sun-Dance and the Horse Society Dance, which were primarily religious in function and will be treated later on under the section on religion, the following were the various societies as remembered by my informants and recorded by Denig:

1. The Nape'ci WaciBi, or The-Not-Running-Away-Dance. This society was composed of young men from all the Assiniboine bands, who were expressly chosen for their bravery. These when attacked by the enemy were required to stand their ground and not retreat under any circumstances. Their purpose was to act as a rear-guard to protect the other warriors when outnumbered by the enemy. Four men headed this society, two as leaders and two as sergeant-at-arms. The leaders led the dance by means of their staffs of office, while the sergeant-at-arms had as their badge whips to strike at those members who refused to participate in the dance. This dance was generally performed naked at feasts before going out on war expeditions(60).

2. Tatang WaciBi, or the Buffalo Dance. The membership of this society was mainly composed of middle-aged men and chiefs, formerly warriors of note. My informant, Returning Hunter, was invited to join this society when he was younger, but he refused, as did most young men, for this society was supposed to bring bad luck in warfare to its members, in the sense that its members were easily wounded in war. Membership in this band was usually confined to the men of the Canoe Band. The rights of membership carried with it permission to paint the buffalo head and horns on shields, drums and robes and the ability to perform rites for the increase of the buffalo.

In dancing, members wore a headdress of the heads and shoulders of a buffalo bull, with pieces of red cloth sewn over its eyes, nostrils and mouth. The body was painted with black and red stripes, as far as the breech-clout. The dance steps were intended to imitate the motions of the buffalo and the dancers snorted and bellowed and shook their horns at one another. Toward the end the dancers shot at one another's feet with their guns (61).

3. Agi'tcita WaciBi, or Soldier's Dance. This was the dance of the members of the Agi'tcita, or Soldier's Society. It was rarely performed, save for the purpose of stimulating a warlike spirit in the young in face of danger from a nearby enemy. Occasionally, it was performed for visiting strangers and then for the purpose of recounting coups.

A crier went around the camp to call the soldiers to the dance and if these failed to appear, one of the leaders went to the tipis of the members and shot at these with blunt arrows. Feasts were later made for the members who were wounded by these arrows; this to prevent them from becoming angry (62).

4. To'kana WaciBi, or Fox Dance. This was mainly a war society and dances were generally held before going off on war expeditions. The members were usually young men, from twenty to thirty years in age who gathered together to display their collective bravery through the recounting of coups (63).

5. The White Crane Dance was rarely given, since it was not part of any regular society. A shaman was the principal figure and he it was who organized the dance. The dancers were young men from any or all of the societies who desired to receive "medicine" for warfare. The women joined in the choruses (64).

6. The Crow Dance was given by the members of the Crow, or war society. The membership was restricted to young warriors who danced with headdresses composed of the entire skin of the crow, including the head and wings. Lances, bows and shields were carried in this dance, all these adorned with crow feathers (65).

7. The Dance of the Provision Stealers was given by a group of young men who, during the all night performance stole provisions from the rest of the camp, who were asleep at that time. In the morning the people of the band redeemed their property by giving presents of tobacco and cloth(66).

8. The Grass Dance, which was introduced by the Sioux in 1872, was given by members of that society at irregular intervals. The reason for giving the dance was that such performance gave to the Assiniboine whatever wishes were had concerning warfare, hunting, or good health. The dancing was done by members dressed in grass costumes and the steps were usually impromptu, in time with the beating of the drum.

9. The Whip Dance was performed by warriors who carried whips ornamented with eagle feathers and horse skin wristbands. The dance was intended to allow warriors to publicly state the number of horses stolen by them. No society was connected with this dance.

10. The Woman's Dance was performed only by women. The dancing was mainly social and had no ceremonial significance. The men did the drumming and singing. The dancers were ranged in two parallel lines, dancing forward until both lines met and then dancing back to their original places. Besides the above, each band had its various minor societies, which changed with each generation. Some of the societies for which information is difficult to get at this late day were

the Wolf Society, the Black Horse Society, the Duck Society and others. With the exception of the Grass Dance, most of the above societies connected with war or the hunt were disbanded in the early days of the reservation.

One important dance that continued until a few years ago was the Wi^{n}tgo'pax Wacipi, or the Fool's Dance. This, properly speaking, was an important hunting ceremonial dance. The members of this society were always warriors and hunters of note who gave the dance yearly to signify successes in hunting game and in combats with the enemy. At the same time members of this society attempted to cure all diseases of the eyes after the dance was over. Members received supernatural power to act as medicine men and to operate successfully in warfare and in hunting. The dancers were dressed in masks and attempted to imitate I^{n}kto^{n}'mi, the culture hero and trickster, in their dance steps. Since the dance had profound religious implications, it will be treated in detail along with the Horse Dance and the Sun-Dance under Assiniboine religion.

Warfare

Warfare was the means of receiving status in the aboriginal culture. The training and education of boys was directed towards preparing them for war in later life. The patterns of warfare had become so ingrained in Assiniboine culture that it is a little inaccurate to say that warfare was similar in spirit to a game for the testing of courage and shrewdness. Warfare was an actual fact to the boy born within the framework of Assiniboine culture. He was early told that he was doomed to die in battle and unless he took the offensive, he would be killed while defending himself in raids made by various enemy tribes. Warfare was established for the boy born in Assiniboine society and to assume that the attitude of that youngster toward war, at the time of joining his first war party, was one of sport, would be true in part; yet the attempt to confuse an established effect with a hypothetical first cause as an interpretation of plains warfare is apt to be misleading. With the existence of these patterns, boys who were afraid to go on war-parties, and there were some who were never to go to war, were treated with contempt by the other members of the band. Membership in the various societies were virtually closed to these, marriage to girls of normal standing would be difficult and contempt and shame would be their lot. Few normal indiindividuals inculcated with the Assiniboine ideal to be well thought of by relatives and friends could withstand the scorn that formed the lot of the coward; women as well as the men showing their contempt toward such individuals.

Warfare was mainly restricted to young men, although men over forty-five would take part in a defensive fight. The age at which participation in war-parties might begin ranged from twelve to eighteen. My informant, Returning Hunter, joined his first war party at the age of thirteen.

Theoretically, any warrior could organize and lead a war party. Actually, however, war parties were generally led by those warriors who had shown by their past experience that they possessed the supernatural power to defeat the enemy with no losses on their side. Leaders of war parties who had had, previously, members of their party killed in action, found it difficult to get followers again. Despite the prestige attached to bravery, no Assiniboine warrior, normally, desired to take needless risks. Warriors temporarily suspended a war expedition if the leader dreamt that failure would be their lot. It was only when the omens were favorable that a war party set out for the enemy's territory.

No war party could be organized without the expressed permission of the various band chiefs and the members of the Soldier's Society. These conferred in the Soldiers' lodge and decided whether the time was opportune for the sending out of a war party from the camp, or whether in view of impending attacks, it would be best to keep the young men at home for purposes of defense. If permission was granted, the leader of the war party then proceeded to fast, sacrifice and pray to his guardian spirits, hoping for a dream that would prove favorable. If his visions proved favorable, he made a feast and invited those men whom he wanted as followers to come to his tipi. To these he explained his reason for organizing a war party. If he was unable to get many to accompany him, he dispatched men with tobacco to the other bands, in an attempt to find men who would be willing to join him in such a party.

War parties were organized to avenge the killing of one of their relatives by the enemy, or to induce some man to cease mourning, or for the main purpose of receiving tribal honor through the taking of scalps from old enemies, or to revenge old defeats, or for the purpose of stealing horses. In stealing horses, the parties were made as small as possible to expedite concealment and flight. In avenging previous defeats the party was usually

large and was often composed of as many as five hundred to a thousand men. Nor were the war parties restricted in numbers. Two or three war parties going out at the same time toward the same enemy camps were by no means unusual(67).

The spirits of war were the wolves and to these the war party leaders sacrificed scarlet cloth and tobacco. If the war parties were to be successful, the wolves would howl at the giving of sacrifices to them, if unsuccessful, the wolves would be quiet. Members of a war party agreed to follow their leader to whatever enemy camp he thought best. However, it was considered proper for any member of the party to leave the leader at any time and for any reason whatever, without incurring his displeasure (68).

The night before departure was spent in the Soldier's Lodge, where all present performed the Crow Dance. In the morning they left, their faces painted red, singing the songs of the Wolf Society and the songs of death. The entire war party went on foot, each carrying six to eight pairs of moccasins, a bow and arrow, or a gun or lance or war club. The party could be turned back by any unpropitious sign, such as severe thunder and lightning, the dropping of a medicine sack or an unfavorable dream by any of the members (69).

If the war party was a large one, the following procedure was observed:

> "Scouts are appointed by the leader and changed daily; their duty being to separate and keep about five or six miles ahead of the main body. These scouts are always on foot...
>
> "When signs of the camp are perceived, sentinels are posted every night, who lie down around the camp within two or three hundred yards of the main body and fifty or sixty steps from each other. If there are horses belonging to the expedition, these are picketed within this circle and near the place where their several owners sleep. These sentinels are changed every night (70)."

Various tactics were used by Assiniboine warriors. The most common method was to attack at day break, with but a few men to drive off the horses and to arouse the camp. The enemy warriors, following, were led to where the main body of warriors were lying in ambush. Another method was to have the few who had horses make a rush through the camp, shouting the war whoop and firing into the tipis as they rode past. This attack was made with the purpose in mind of driving off the horses and forcing the enemy to turn out to do battle near the camp.

Wherever possible, small parties fought near woods and never in the open plain. Large parties fought in the open only when they felt their numbers to be superior to that of the enemy's. However, if the enemy were more numerous than the small war party, danger was had for the latter in attempts to burn them out through setting the nearby plains grass on fire. Where this was not done, the party in the woods defended themselves as well as they could, escaping later on under cover of darkness.

The dress of the warriors on foot did not differ markedly from that used in hunting, except that a shield and a bundle of moccasins were carried on the back. The more influential warriors wore a war-shirt, the designs of which had either been dreamt or received as a gift from some warrior with "power." These shirts made the wearer immune from both bullet and arrow wounds. The shield was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, cut in circular fashion, over which a piece of buckskin was sewn. Two or three feathers were sewn in the center and around the edge. The shield was often painted with some animal or bird noted for its warlike character.

The warriors of note who were mounted wore deerskin shirts and leggings, trimmed with weasel, ermine or human hair. Eagle feathers were worn in the hair and shield, quiver, gun and scalping knife carried on the person.

The weapons employed in warfare were varied. These included the lance, bow and arrow, gun and stone war clubs. The weight of the latter ran about five pounds and could inflict considerable damage in warfare.

Scalping was easily done by the Assiniboine. As soon as an enemy fell, whether wounded or killed, the first Assiniboine to reach him ran his sharp scalping knife around the enemy's head, placed his foot on the fallen man's neck and tore off the scalp.

The Assiniboine were not accustomed to take prisoners. All enemy wounded left on the field of battle were summarily dispatched. Able-bodied men captured within their camp were tortured or burnt to death. Women and children were rarely taken as prisoners; these were killed as well as the men in raids upon enemy camps.

Upon returning, the war party stopped a little way from camp and blackened their faces with a mixture of grease and charcoal, if no losses existed on their side. As soon as they were seen by the camp, the warriors held up their blankets to signify that they were coming back. The blankets were waved to represent the number of enemies they had killed, or the horses they had stolen. If members of the party had been killed, the news was conveyed by throwing a blanket to the ground for each warrior killed. At this signal the entire camp advanced to meet the party. Scalps were given at this time to in-laws, or where none of these existed, to the nearest female relatives. If some of the members had been killed, the warriors would at that time recite their names and deeds. The relatives of the killed men would then tear their clothes, smear white clay upon their faces; the men singing the praises of the dead men, while the women sang the songs of lament for the dead and wept.

Upon their entry into camp, the warriors would go to their respective tipis to rest. After they were felt to be sufficiently rested, they were invited to attend feasts given in their honor in the various tipis. Often they were invited to eat at the tipis of the warriors who did not go, where they were asked to related their experiences. The Victory, or Scalp Dance was then held as soon as the moon was full, so that there would be sufficient light for dancing. Some of the old warriors whose sons had been successful in the war party would insist that the dance be held in the day time, that the entire band might see their sons in all their glory.

On the day that the Victory Dance was held, the female relatives of the warriors busied themselves preparing the food for the feast to be given the dancers and the spectators. The dance was held in the open. Two or three old men, who had been warriors of note in their time, did the drumming and singing. Around these, a circle was formed of the warriors on one side and the female relatives opposite them. The women carried the scalps that had been brought back on poles and some even carried lances, shields, guns and bows and arrows. The two sides then danced until they came to the drummers, then dancing back until they resumed their original places. The songs eulogized the deeds of the returning warriors and the implements used to kill the enemy were waved at the completion of each song by the women. In an attempt to arouse the spirit of the young, the old warriors would recite their coups and the women would sing songs of derision of the men who were too cowardly to join war parties, for fear of death. Love making was an important element in the Victory Dance and each married woman could, without fear of punishment, make love to men other than her husband. Throughout the dance, which lasted all night, men and women would go off to lie down together. Jealousy on the part of the husband during this dance was felt to be uncalled-for type of behavior.

Oftimes a women's dance, or O'winx WaciBi, was given some days following the Victory Dance. Only women participated in this dance. Their faces blackened, they danced in a circle singing the deeds of their male relatives. Unlike the Victory Dance, the women carried neither war implements, nor scalps. At the end of this dance, rounds were made to the various tipis of famous warriors by the men singing the war deeds of the prominent men. Those who were thus eulogized reciprocated by gifts of horses to the singers (71).

The counting of coups was formalized in the Braves' Dance held two or three times during the year for the purpose of allowing the various warriors in the several bands to recite their record of brave deeds. The accrediting of coups was worked in the following manner: the greatest amount of credit was given to the individual warrior who first struck a fallen enemy, lesser credit being given to the three who followed him in touching that enemy. Killing an enemy did not count, unless the warrior was one of the four to first touch the slain man. The first to run to a fallen enemy was entitled to the latter's scalp. Taking the bow, gun, shield, or horse from an enemy was counted as a coup, as was firing more than ten bullets, or arrows during a fight. Wounds received from the enemy, when not running away, also counted as coups, as did killing a grizzly bear. Stealing horses, where none of the enemy were killed counted one or more coups.

Denig's description of coup incidents shows the method of reciting coups:

> "The whole camp being present, also many in whose company the acts now to be boasted about had been performed, makes it indispensable that the boasts of the warriors be confined to the truth. After one round has been danced a warrior, who is also one of the dancers steps forth and speaks in a loud voice to this effect, using his gun or lance in gesticulation: 'One or two years since, I, in company with fifteen others went upon the Black-

> feet and succeeded in bringing away forty of the enemy's horses (here the drum is tapped once).' On another occasion in a battle with the Crow Indians six years since he struck an enemy the first (here follows two taps on the drum). At another time he struck two enemies the second, took a gun and a tomahawk from the dead enemies (four taps on the drum). Also that in battle he took an enemy's horse (one tap). Four years since, being near the Blackfeet camp with six others in quest of horses, they were discovered and pursued and succeeded in making their escape (one tap). Alone and on foot he, three years since (naming the place), killed and brought to camp a full-grown grizzly bear (one tap). 'Here one of the balls of the Blackfeet broke my arm (one tap).' That he fired fifteen shots (one tap). 'Here an arrow pierced my thigh (one tap).'
>
> "It takes some hours to prepare for and perform this dance. Although the performers are naked, no indecency is connected with this. They are obliged to appear in this state in order that they may publicly expose and point out any wound they may have received in battle (72)."

Wo'tawE, or war charms were carried by the Assiniboine warriors. These were obtained by dreams or by gifts of horses to one with supernatural power, who would aid in the collecting of various items to bring good luck to the owner. Wo'tawE were symbols of good luck and were not to be given away, or sold, once made, else the owner would suffer. Each Assiniboine carried different war charms with him. Thus, one of Lowie's informants used the dried and fleshed skin of a blue bird, with jackrabbit ears sewn to its neck, the whole attached to a piece of rawhide painted red on the opposite side. During a fight the head of the bird was fastened with string, or cord, to a lock of the owner's hair. Another individual noticed by Lowie had for his Wo'tawE a large knife with a handle made of a bear's jawbone, to which was tied little bells and a feather (73).

In raiding an enemy camp, either for horses or otherwise, some possession of a dead relative, slain by that enemy, was left in an enemy camp as a symbol of revenge. At other times, a coup stick was left attached to an enemy scalp, as a taunting gesture.

In recapturing horses stolen by the enemy, the Assiniboine, unlike the Crow, always returned the horses to their rightful owner. In return, the owner was expected to reciprocate with a gift of either a horse, if more than one horse was returned, or a gun, or some other token of value (74).

In Assiniboine culture, bravery was considered to be more than mere courage; it was courage combined with supernatural aid, for without the latter no assurance could be had that the war party would be successful in purpose. Bravery was more a matter of "face" for the Assiniboine, necessary, when cornered, to avert the contempt of the enemy, but, at the same time, death was not courted for the sake of being brave. Except for the few who invited death in desperation, or to forget the death of a wife or a child, most of the Assiniboine warriors desired to go on the war path, only when success was assured by their guardian spirits. Returning Hunter noted the value in having a warrior with tremendous "power" lead the war party. The attempts by these to gain visions of success meant the going ahead of a war party or its turning back, with its purpose unfulfilled. The psychological aspect in Assiniboine warfare seemed to have been the desire for status and as soon as that status was reached, participation in war parties ceased for the individual.

The most common enemies of the Assiniboine were the Blood, Piegan, Blackfoot, Teton Sioux, Crow and Hidatsa in order. With the exception of the Cree, whom they never fought, the following tribes were known and at some time or other skirmishes were had with these. Tribes like the Comanche, Bannocks and Shoshoni were infrequently contacted. Great friendliness was shown toward the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara. The Piegan and the Bloods were considered the worst enemies of the Assiniboine and the Assiniboine warriors living today have the greatest respect for the courage and riding abilities of these two members of the Blackfoot confederation. The Gros Ventre and the Crow became friendly with the Assiniboine only after the middle of the past century. Contact was had with the Nez Perce only through the migration of Chief Joseph, for the Assiniboine were instrumental in defeating the Nez Perce in 1877.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns ran throughout all the components of Assiniboine culture and no part of the daily existence was left untouched by them. For religion, to the Assiniboine, meant the seeking for a formula, by means of which all the uncertainties of earthly existence could be avoided. Dissatisfactions existed in Assini-

boine life that became accentuated by added anxieties for the future. Children were sick, food was low, enemies threatened death and extinction, misery came in the guise of sickness, individuals failed to receive social approval--all these added to the Assiniboine's insecurity and their presence resulted in unhappiness and anxiety. Aid was necessary from some source, and man, by himself, was helpless. In times of famine, all men starved and death and sickness came to all alike.

However, the atmosphere was peopled with spirits who could offer aid. These gave the food and they could take it away; they brought sickness and they could cure it; they controlled the future in orderly plan and they could divulge their secrets that man might plan his future, on a basis of surety as to what the future would bring. Nothing was unknown to these spirits and no event was beyond their power to control and change, for they comprised the unseen hands that fashioned events, that made existence possible for all living things: the rain for the grass, the grass for the buffalo and the buffalo for man, the sequence for which the Sun Dance was utilized, and they were ready to aid man to obtain an insight into the manner in which the universe was operated for him.

The spirits existed for man, since man, from the Assiniboine point of view, made necessary the creation and continuation of the universe. Without man the universe could serve no useful purpose, for it would have no goal save vegetative existence. With the creation of man, land had a definite function as did the plants and animals, for the concept of the universe held that plant and animal life and the physical environment in general represented the dual personalities of these spirits. These were the forms taken by them, and their power to control events was based upon their ability to make these events, occurrences that were but themselves made visible to man.

The externals of the Assiniboine religious life were but a series of compulsives (75) framed in such a manner that success in gaining insight was guaranteed were the series carried out. In a sense these externals formed the formulae by means of which the spirits could be reached, for they had been given to man in the past by spirits in the hope that man would learn to speak their language in appealing to them for aid. Were the ceremonial forms not carried out as they were intended, bad luck would ensue, since the spirits, limited as much by regulations as man, would be unable to help.

Sweet-grass smoke formed the medium through which prayers were heard by the various spirits. Prayers at all times were necessary, but unless they were attended by sweet-grass smoke, they would prove to be of little or no avail. Prayers for aid required the auxiliary of bitter weeping, another compulsive, to cause the spirits to take pity upon the supplicant. The torture element in the quest for a guardian spirit was part of the bargain by which the quest was fulfilled. The concept of torture implied that such inflicting of self-punishment not only caused the spirits to be filled with compassion for the quester, but that it also caused the spirits to give their aid. The ceremonial number of times in which songs were sung, or prayers made were part of this complex of compulsives and the Assiniboine had a lurking fear that such ceremonials would be in vain, were but one slip made in adhering to the formula. The offering of smoke to the spirits above, to the spirits of the four directions and those of the earth required the same painstaking observance of the ceremonial nature of the universe. Good luck existed in all forms for man and failure to realize this was due, not to the evil intentions of the spirits, but to inability to observe the proper means of obtaining this good fortune.

The sun symbolized the main seat of the universal power, of which the various spirits formed part. Here existed Wako^{n}'tanga, or Great Power. This Great Power could not be described, nor could his powers be limited. Sometimes this supernatural entity came down to earth in the guise of a man, and as such he was seen by Returning Hunter, my informant, in a vision. This entity and the sun were one and the same; the latter being but his external form. Ordinary speech could not describe nor explain, nor could man understand the being of the Wako^{n}'tanga. It existed through its manifestations of death, cold and heat, defeat by an enemy, sickness, famine, drought and social insecurity. Its effects were seen in the products of the sky, earth and water. It was the abstraction of the universe and its power could be enlisted to aid one were the proper compulsives of ceremony, sacrifice and fasting engaged in. The moon and the earth were but segments of the Great Power that formed the whole.

The Thunderbirds were the portion of the Great Power that were symbolized by the birds of the air, and the thunder and lightning were

caused by these as their manifestations. The eagle and the various types of hawks were but other forms of the Thunderbird spirits. They were also the spirits of hunting and warfare, and success in these fields were had only through them (76).

Wolves, coyotes, bear, buffalo, rattlesnake, were part of the forms taken by the spirits of the earth and each of these, in spirit, controlled events in its power, when appealed to in the proper manner.

No Assiniboine could have good fortune in his daily existence unless he fulfilled his obligations to this universal power through prayer, sacrifice and fasting. Food, clothing, good health, ability to get along with other people, happiness in married life were but part of the blessings created for man and which he could obtain by means of the right procedures.

The main benefit received in gaining access to the helping powers of the Great Power was in the feeling of security that it brought to all undertakings. Were the proper contact made in the request, aid was always certain of being granted. A feeling of this is had in the following excerpt given by one of my informants:

> "Hunting was difficult in the 'eighties. The buffalo was gone and the few deer and antelope that remained were hard to get. It was only with the aid of the Great Spirit that I was able to keep my family from starving to death.
>
> "One day, the results of my hunting were meager. Towards afternoon, I saw an antelope with her young one standing in the center of a level plain. I tried to get close to them; but found it impossible. I followed a coulee that led to this level ground, but even then I couldn't get near enough to shoot. I became desperate, for I needed that food for my family. I cried and prayed to the spirits of the Thunderbird, the eagle and the bullet-hawk, for they had often come to me in dreams. I begged them to help me.
>
> "The Great Spirit heard my prayer and as I looked at the game that I could not shoot, I suddenly noticed a huge eagle swoop from the sky. The antelope and her young one ran in all directions, but in vain, for the bird soon had its claws in the antelope's ribs. It was the prettiest sight that I had seen, for the antelope appeared to be winged and about to fly. The antelope staggered along a few feet and then dropped. And as soon as the eagle appeared certain of the antelope's death, it loosened its hold and flew to a nearby hill, to wait while I claimed my meat. I shouted to the eagle, 'You eat first. I'll get my meat later.' The eagle quickly understood, for it flew to the fallen antelope and busied itself for a few minutes tearing out the liver as its payment and then flew back to the hilltop to eat its meat there. I thanked it and after I had cut up and skinned the antelope and packed the meat on my back, I looked back and there was the eagle still eating its meat. My heart was glad (77)."

The quest for a guardian spirit was limited only to Assiniboine men; women gained their security through their husbands. Guardian spirits lasted throughout life and many could be had. The spirits that came to the quester determined the latter's life's design; whether he would become a great warrior and hunter, a founder of a society, a man noted for his ability to foresee the future, a holy man, or whether ignominy would be his lot.

Guardian spirits were received at any age and boys obtained their vision when they were prepared to fast and undergo the torture that formed part of the quest. As a rule, a boy went out without being told. The quester needed to have a definite purpose in mind in asking for spirit aid, for such help was meant to imply an extinction of the feeling of insecurity. The quester fasted for three or four days, touching neither food nor water, waiting for a spirit to come to him in a dream or in a vision. Some individuals were never able to get visions, no matter how long they fasted and prayed, for something was amiss in their procedure. Gifts were sacrificed by placing tobacco, food, or cloth on four sticks around an altar of sage-brush and within this square the quester stayed to pray and weep. The pipe was smoked ceremonially and presented to the various directions in the path of the sun, starting with the east and ending with smoke offerings to the spirits of the sky and earth.

Torture was mostly engaged in as a fulfillment of a vow, made previously to gain power for success either in warfare, or in economic life. Some who engaged in torture were unable to obtain fulfillment through a vision or a dream, nor were they able to tear themselves from their bonds. In such cases, they were freed by a medi-

cine man, to whom a horse was given as payment.

Returning Hunter in his youth had undergone torture in a quest that brought horses to him. He had previously vowed to torture himself were white horses given him by the sun. Returning Hunter had no horses of his own and he had decided upon torture to give him the wealth that he needed so badly for status.

Visions could also occur when the individual was not seeking them. It was possible for power to be received from the spirits unsought. In that case the spirits sought out their ward. Such an event occured with a vision by Pipe, an old Assiniboine now dead.

The content behind the giving of gifts to visitors at ceremonial occasions was that the recipients might have power, unknown to others, by means of which the giver's children could be aided in later life. Children were always told to be kind to strangers, since one never knew when these would be able to be of help. Those who were considered successful were always asked to pray for children whose families had experienced misfortune. Returning Hunter was once asked by a woman to pray for her baby boy, for the one previous to it had died. Although Returning Hunter was not a medicine man, he had been so successful in all of his undertakings that he had gained a reputation as one with many powers, portions of which could be transferred through prayer. In this case, Returning Hunter entered the sweat-house that had been prepared for him, and as he prayed, the woman brought in the heated stones one at a time. On the last stone to be brought in was some red ochre, which Returning Hunter used to paint his body and those of the parents and the baby. He then prayed to the spirits to bless the baby that it might grow up healthy and prosperous. In return for this aid, the parents of the baby presented him with a horse as a gift.

A memento of contact with the spirits was the medicine bundle. This was composed of some "medicine" that had been collected under the direction of some tutelary spirit. The "medicine" was received through a dream or a vision and could be in the form of stuffed birds, pieces of wood, the skin of various animals, or feathers of different birds. There was no set pattern as to what could compose "medicine"; anything that had been dreamed as spoken of by the tutelary spirit could be used. This "medicine," combined with a lock of hair from a dead relative and a small piece of tobacco, was wrapped in several skins, the whole then placed in a rawhide bag. This bundle was always hung, either on a pole outside the tipi, or on the owner's back while traveling. It was never opened in the presence of anyone and when the owner died it was placed with his body.

Not all spirits were to be trusted in a vision. Some were false, whose purpose it was to test the belief of the quester. These could be detected by the manner in which they changed form. All spirits, if they were genuine manifestations of the universal power, appeared in forms that were not interchangeable. Thus, most spirits took the form of persons. Were these to change into rattlesnakes, or some animal, after having spoken to the quester, then the latter knew that they were teasing spirits and their word could not be taken.

Ghosts also existed around Assiniboine camps. These were invisible forms of dead relatives, who had returned to visit their former haunts. These ghosts could appear and disappear voluntarily. They made known their presence by whistling through their teeth, making a long and low sound. Most commonly, they appeared at night, but they could also be found in very lonely places in the daytime. The presence of a ghost was of prophetic significance, since it implied that some misfortune was about to take place, either to the individual hearing the ghost, or to one of his relatives or friends. After the ghost's mission was over, it travelled in a southerly direction back to its spirit world. Accordingly, whenever a ghost was heard, a pemmican feast was given at the place where the bodies of the dead relatives were located. The food was held up for the ghost to partake of and then divided among the living relatives present. Ghosts were always harbingers of bad news and great interest was always evidenced in their presence. However, ghosts were unable to inflict bodily harm upon living individuals.

No definite concept of an after life existed among the Assiniboine. The descriptions as received by the early travelers among the Assiniboine suggest an attempt at individual crystallization of a nebulous pattern, which is the similarity of the spirit world with that of earthly existence; the details being based upon the frame of reference of the particular individual volunteering the information.

A belief that formed a nucleus of the idealized version of the afterlife was that of the soul leaving the

body during sleep. All places and persons seen in dreams were part of reality, in the sense of having been seen by the soul upon leaving the body. The soul was life and little difference existed whether or not it had a physical envelope.

Religious Dances

The reason for including these dances under the heading of religion can be readily seen from the character of these dances as compared to those more ceremonial, in the sense of being means to display rank or to gain status. While the tendency to join in order to gain status was typical also of the Horse Society and the Fool's Dance members, yet a difference in degree existed that made these societies of a more religious nature, say, than the Fox or Wolf Society; thus allowing them to be arbitrarily placed under religion rather than social organization.

The so-called Sun-Dance of the Assiniboine was, in reality, the Home-Building Dance, or Woti'jax[a]. The spirits of the Thunder Bird in all their forms were the ones whose aid was requested in this annual Assiniboine gratification dance. The Sun-Dance, so-called, was not given by any single society; rather was it intended to be given by all the members of the band, or several bands, for the benefit of all the relatives and friends of the participating members. The benefits to be derived from the holding of this dance were these: success in hunting for the participating dancers and plentiful food for the relatives and friends; safeguards against sickness for each member of the band, or bands; success in warfare for future war-parties and general morale well-being for the Assiniboine as a whole, in the sense that the omnipotent forms of the Thunder Bird, the invisible symbol of universal power, were now tied by a firm contract to fulfill their obligations in the time-tried formula of the reciprocative duties of the spirits and man.

Little can be obtained from the early accounts on the Assiniboine Sun-Dance. If the details of this dance as held in the twentieth century be taken as the descriptive standard, then it must be assumed that, like other forms of Assiniboine culture, change has occurred even here. The obvious feeling had of these descriptions was that various other dances and feasts both preceded and followed the Sun-Dance and these were confused by the early observers to form part of the Sun-Dance complex. In all, the patching together of these descriptions develops a confused picture.

Thus, the description of Larpenteur in 1850 tallies with the description obtained by Lowie in 1907 and by myself in 1935, yet differs markedly from that of his contemporary, Edwin Denig and the latter's friend, Father DeSmet. Curtis' account also obtained in 1907 represents but little variation in detail.

The composite description of the Sun-Dance follows:

> "Every spring at the first peal of thunder, which they call the voice of the Great Spirit, speaking from the clouds, the Assiniboine offer it sacrifices; some burn tobacco and present to the Great Spirit the most exquisite pieces of buffalo meat, by casting them into the fire; while others make deep incisions in the fleshy parts of their bodies and even cut off the first joints of their fingers, to offer them in sacrifice (77)."

At this time any individual who had been in difficulties, such as being surrounded by enemies, having a child or wife sick, or who had been sick himself, gave a feast to inform the band that in the times of stress he had vowed to dance in the Sun-Dance, were his requests granted by the spirits. Although these vows were made in the winter and spring, the dancing could only take place when the sun had reached its most southerly course in June. At the giving of this feast, the others who had also made the same vows came out and informed the band of such. Since, the various bands had annually met together at this time for this purpose, tobacco was sent around by messenger to the bands, informing them of the number of individuals who had taken the vow to dance (78). As noted previously, more than one dance could be given at the same time within the tribe.

Two individuals took the lead in organizing the Sun-Dance: the individual who had inherited the power from the spirits to act as leader and the master of ceremonies, who was generally the first individual since the last Sun-Dance to declare his intention of dancing as fulfillment of a previous vow.

At the gathering of the various bands in a circle, the preliminary singing began for a period of four nights; the last night, the singing lasting until dawn. A tent was built for this purpose and here the singers and drummers and pledgers stayed. A prayer to the earth and sky was made

by the individual in charge of the ceremony and tobacco was buried near the center of the lodge as an offering to the spirits of the earth. Sacrifices of scarlet cloth were hung in the rear of the lodge and near the sacred fire of sweet grass a crescent shaped moon was drawn on the ground.

At the end of the preliminary singing, the pledger called to him the most famous warriors of the bands present. He urged these to take pity upon him in his fulfillment of his vow. These then met in the center of the camp circle, counted their coups and set off to find the cotton wood tree for the center pole. After having scouted for the tree, they came back and handed a branch to the pledger, telling him that the enemy had been seen. The entire camp now started for the tree. Upon reaching the place, four small fires of sweet grass were started around the trunk of the tree chosen. Then the pledger and the holy man in charge of the dance walked four times around the tree; this over, scarlet cloth was tied to its trunk. Prayers were then offered by these two to the tree, telling it of its function and urging it, as a symbol of the spirits of the earth to gratify the desires and wishes of the Assiniboine. As soon as the prayers were over, the two in charge shook their rattles and sang their Sun-Dance songs. Two men were then appointed to chop the tree down. These made three passes at the trunk and at the fourth time, the tree was hit by the axes. As soon as the tree began to topple, shots were fired by the Assiniboine at the branches and wishes made and a mad scramble ensued to be the first to touch the fallen tree and strip it of its branches (79).

The procession then started back with the tree and as soon as the camp was reached, a conical framework was set up, the bark taken off the tree and carved. The top part of the tree had been cut off so that a small fork was left. Here branches were placed, as symbolical of the nest of the Thunder Bird. Below the nest, a crescent to represent the new moon was carved and underneath that a long strip to represent lightning; while at the base of the pole a buffalo head was carved. A division of labor was entailed in all the parts of this ceremony. Each society having a definite function, such as chopping down the center pole, carving the pole and putting up the lodge. The lodge was then put up by entwining branches and leaves around the framework. A large arc was left open on the south side of the Sun-Dance lodge and it was here that spectators were allowed to look. The top part of the lodge was left open for the sun. A screen of boughs about five feet high ran along the inside walls and behind these the pledgers danced; the women on the eastern side; the men on the west and north.

Sacrifices of cloth were placed on the center pole and an altar of sagebrush was made in the back part of the lodge behind the screen, on which a buffalo skull was placed.

The drummers sat around the northeastern part of the lodge; the women singers directly south of them. The dance started when a buffalo hide was waved three times over the drummers by the holy man; a prayer going with each move, and with the fourth move the hide was thrown in their midst and the drumming and singing began. There were four parts to each song and the pledgers were compelled to dance until the drumming and singing ceased. The dancing was a knee jerk type of movement, in which the dancers moved up and down, blowing their eagle-bone whistles continuously.

In the aboriginal days, the dancers danced for three days and two nights; during which they were unable to eat, drink, or sleep. The decorations of the dancers were made to represent the spirits of the visions that had come to them. The paints varied with morning, afternoon and evening during the dance. The breech-clout was the only form of clothing worn by the men although wreathes of sage grass, leaves and sweet grass were entwined about the head to represent various tutelary spirits, such as the sage hen, magpie, etc.

On the second day those who had made a vow to torture themselves in fulfillment of obligations to the various spirits had friends cut a hole through the bunched skin above each nipple through which skewers were thrust. These were tied by rope to the top of the center pole. Bearing down upon the rope the pledgers danced up and down, in their allotted space, attempting to break the skin and thus free themselves, but not until they had first seen the spirit to whom the vow had been given. Another type of torture employed at this time was to pierce each shoulder, the ropes being tied to three or four dry buffalo skulls, which the pledger dragged outside the lodge, weeping and wailing, until the skin broke through (80). A gift of a horse was generally given to that warrior that pierced the skin of the pledger.

On the fourth day, the lodge framework was removed, although the centerpole with its scarifices were left standing. Lightning would strike the one who touched the cloth and gifts tied to the pole. A feast was

then made for the pledgers by various relatives and at this feast horses and gifts were presented to the shaman in charge of the ceremony for his part in assuring success in hunting and warfare and general good health and welfare for the bands. Various society dances now took place and the shamans attempted now to display their supernatural feats.

The dance always took place on the first full moon after the sun had reached its most southerly course, generally in June, or the first part of July.

The Horse Society Dance was second in sacredness to the Sun-Dance. Unlike the Sun-Dance, no specified time was appointed for its performance. Theoretically, it could have been held at any time, though actually it was performed about once every two years, at the time during which new members were initiated.

Lowie has stated this dance as being obtained from the Northern Blackfoot about a hundred years ago (81). This was denied by Medicine Boy, my informant, who further pointed out that it differed markedly from the Blackfoot variety, which, as Wissler (82) pointed out was more a Horse Back dance than the Assiniboine variety of the dance. Evidently, the dance, if taken from the Blackfoot at one time, has been so changed in form and content as to have nothing in common with the Blackfoot, or Sioux dances of the same name.

Medicine Boy was three years old when he joined the Horse Society. His grandfather and grandmother were members of this society and they always took him with them when they attended. One day, his father gave him a buffalo horse and a braid of sweet grass and told him to take these to his grandfather in the Horse Society lodge, telling him upon presentation that he wanted to join that society. His grandfather, upon receiving the horse and sweet grass, then said, "My grandchild, it is good that you want to become a member of this sacred society. Go back and tell your mother and grandmother to gather all the berries that they can, dry them and pound them with dried meat into pemmican."

That fall, as the leaves started to fall off the trees, Medicine Boy's grandmother put up a lodge made of two tipi covers and made a feast of pemmican and dried berries. The berries were placed in a buffalo calfskin bag and placed on the ground near the center of the tipi and invitations were issued to all those who had paid at least five horses apiece for their membership. These sang all night for the benefit of Medicine Boy. The next morning they went home. The berries and meat were cooked and a smudge of sweet grass placed around the fire. The pipes were filled by two old members of this society who acted as servants. Medicine Boy's grandfather then prayed for a long time, requesting aid and good luck for Medicine Boy. After the praying was over, these two men were given presents of clothes and buffalo robes and asked to call the leaders. These leaders entered slowly and once they sat down, they were unable to move from the spot. Medicine Boy's grandfather then picked up a pipe, filled it, lit it and passed it around to these men. After they had finished smoking, they received many yards of calico and they were asked to pray for the new member. These sat and prayed for a long time. The first man who received the pipe prayed until noon, for the reason that the Horse Dance was received from the spirit in the noon, Okcito'gop, The Only-One-Sun. Prayers were then made to the four directions and then to the sun, the pipe moving with each direction. The first prayer was for the child to come to life, the second to have him grow into a boy, the third to have him develop into a young man and the fourth to have him live until he could be a married man. After this was over, they turned to Medicine Boy and asked him, "Can you do all this?" The grandfather interrupted to say, "I can teach him this." He was then told that if he learned how to make these various prayers, he would live to be a very old man.

The other members of the Horse Society were then invited. For the first two hours, the members sat still, not uttering a sound. They then rubbed his head and body with various sacred herbs that they had made by pointing to the ground with their finger and they gave the power to make these roots to Medicine Boy. Each root that they made had different curative powers. One could make a horse gentle; while another could cure a certain specific horse sickness. When these powers had been given, they ate the berries,and food was then offered to the spirits of this society.

After the food was finished, the praying began. Two drums were used as the property of this society. On one was painted an eagle, while the other had a horse face painted on its surface. Medicine Boy's grandfather, who was the master of ceremonies, then took one of the drums, held it over a sweet grass fire for a few moments and passed the drum, with rattles of dew claws to the leader of the society. An eagle bone whistle was used with the drum, as the various members prayed for the whole band. They prayed that nothing

unfortunate would happen to the tipis and that all the children would grow up to be healthy and free of sickness. They prayed to the spirit of the horse and to the Sun, that horses would be sent to them from the surrounding tribes. They prayed for the blue horse to come to them, for such a horse by having fourteen different colors in his hair makeup was the chosen leader of all horses. Such a horse automatically brought to the band all of the fourteen different kinds of horses.

The leader then struck the drum four times and began the sacred song of the horse society:

"Father, why don't you give me the best horse, that draws the most horses. Father give me the best horse from the west, that I may draw more horses from the west.

"My father, give me the northern horses (the Blackfoot horses) that I may have more horses.

"My father, give me the horses from the center of the world that I may have all the horses to myself.

"My father, give me an eastern horse (Sioux), that I may have many horses from that quarter."

That was the first song that Medicine Boy learned. After that was over, blankets and gifts of cloth and tobacco were given to the next old man to teach him one of the society's dances. This old man had a colt-skin, stuffed in such a way as to have the appearance of a horse and the colt-skin danced as if it were galloping. That dance was given to Medicine Boy. Then, the various members took their drums and the pipe that went with it, prayed to the one and only sun for the benefit of the village and gave an exhibition of their powers to the spectators. One old woman had a pair of horse ears tied to her moccasins. Instead of leaving footprints of the moccasins, all that could be seen were hoof tracks. Some had the power to place sticks in the ground as they started to sing their sacred songs, the sticks prancing around as if they were living horses.

Definite instructions were now given to Medicine Boy. The horses had been paid to give him the various powers of the society. He was told to be very careful with his bridle, saddle and whip and under no conditions to loan them to any of his friends or relatives. No one was supposed to ride his own horse. For four years after being admitted to the society, he alone could use his horse and riding equipment. At the end of four years, he was to paint red circles on the shanks of his horse and with white clay paint lines representing lightning over the horse's back, while the horse's eyes were to be painted with white circles. Four days later he was to wash this paint off and then he would be able to loan his horse to others.

These were Medicine Boy's instructions; others received different instructions, for no two members had the same obligations.

Two pipes went with the Horse Dance. One was for the use of men and men only, while the other was for the sole use of the women. At the end of the society meeting, these pipes were wrapped up to be put away; not to be used until the next meeting, which were from one to three years apart.

Medicine Boy was not allowed to give his moccasins, leggings, shirt or blankets to any one else. These he must wear until worn and torn, at which time they were to be burnt. All stray hairs on his comb were to be rolled up and burnt in a small hole in the ground. All members were compelled to burn their hair. Nor was Medicine Boy supposed to use his wife's blanket, nor she his.

In the fall, when the leaves were off the trees, Medicine Boy, like the other members of the society, had to paint his face with the designs used for his horse: concentric white circles around his eyes. He then removed all of his clothes and went to a nearby hill to fast and pray all day long. At sundown he came back to wash the paint off his face and to eat.

He was also warned not to break any bone that had marrow in it, nor was he allowed to eat bones. If he were to break any type of bone someone in his family would have a bone broken in his or her body. No feathers must be burnt by Medicine Boy. If he were to do so, he would be stricken with blindness.

The horse society dance lasted for two days. The first day was given over to an exhibition of individual powers. The second day, each individual traced various figures on the ground, sang the songs that were his and toward sundown, as the songs and dances were over, covered the tracings with dirt. A special type of pemmican was eaten at this time. Each member stretched forth his hand and all types of unknown medicinal plants appeared, plants that did not grow in the natural state. These were then pounded and mixed with the pemmican by a young vir-

gin, of about fourteen. This medicine when eaten was able to cure all types of diseases, but only a member of the Horse Society had the power to procure the plants and roots to be used for this pemmican.

There were no names for these sacred medicines, for they were made by the individual member through his wako^{n} power. All things could be cured by these members. Medicines were made by these to refreshen tired horses, that they would never become exhausted. If a horse were to break its leg, a member could have that horse running within a week. Snow-blindness could be cured by any member. At one time Medicine Boy broke his right wrist. A fellow member decided to reset the bone. The flesh was first lacerated with flint, a certain sacred bark was then wetted to be put over the reset bone and cattails were then wrapped over the swollen wrist. Within four days Medicine Boy was able to use his wrist. At another time, Black Bull's wife broke her left leg. Medicine Boy was called. He set the bone and within eight days, she was able to walk as well as ever. Headaches were cured by Medicine Boy by scratching the temples with flint, placing some medicine that cannot be named over the scratches and binding it with a piece of cloth. Tuberculosis was cured by him by cutting one of the veins near the elbow. There are two veins here; the one going toward the body is cut. The first blood was black, but as soon as the blood started to turn red, the incision was closed and the person soon became well. Sore ears or very bad headaches were cured by opening the vein that led to the head. Sore legs were cured by opening a vein below the ankle. Pneumonia was cured by certain medicines made of the roots that Medicine Boy took out of the ground by a wave of the hand. (All these powers, along with the power to procure many horses, has now been lost by Medicine Boy, because of the disintegration of the society and the general disbelief of the Assiniboine).

The Fool's Dance--Wi^{n}tgo^{n}'gax Wacipi

Membership in this society was generally in fulfillment of a vow. A child was sick; misfortune threatened. The individual prayed to the spirits and vowed that if aid were immediately given him, he would join the society at the next dance. The members of the society were then informed and "powers" were displayed to the new member. The new member then picked the "powers" that he desired and he was then allowed to participate in the dance. Unlike the Horse Society, no women were allowed to join this dance.

The Fool's Dance Society was primarily one to give powers to its members for use in warfare and in hunting. Theoretically, this society was considered to have the power to prevent enemies from harassing their camps. Members of this society used poisoned arrows, dipped in the sac of the rattlesnake, for warfare. These were the only ones permitted to use these arrows. At the same time, the members did the main doctoring of diseased and weakened eyes.

The dance was held but once a year, at some time during the summer months (83), and lasted about two days. On the first day, the chief of the society dressed up in a costume that no one else was allowed to wear, took his long staff of office with him and walked around the camp. Without saying a word, he walked into the various tipis and touched each member with his staff. Each then made his masks of brown canvas, to represent the smokened top of the tipi. Each mask was fringed on the top and sides and decorated, both front and rear, with painted marks and slits to represent the human face.

Soon after, they met in the camp circle. The chief of the society then prayed and told them where buffalo could be found near the camp for slaughter. Upon surrounding a single buffalo, two men were appointed to do the slaughtering. The leader then danced four times around the fallen animal; the others took off their masks and followed. The meat was then cut in small pieces and a small fire of buffalo chips made. The large intestine of the buffalo was then cleaned and roasted over the fire, upon which all the members put on their masks. The new members had their masks made with narrow slits for the eyes, while the older members had no holes made at all in the mask. The decorations on all the masks were made by order of the chief of the ceremony. Decorations shifted from year to year, although the most common patterns were that of rainbows and flying birds. The large intestine was cut into as many pieces as there were members and seating themselves in a circle, out in the open plains where no one could observe them, the members waited to be fed. The leader took various small pieces of this intestine in his hand and praying that the individual member may be able to catch the piece of intestine and thus have good luck for the next year, he pretended to throw the meat three times. On the fourth time he threw the piece of intestine to the member, who had to catch it. The other members, in the meanwhile,

blew furiously on their bone whistles and tried to make all sorts of noises that the recipient might miss. It was considered bad luck to miss and once missed, the recipient could not get another chance. The leader symbolized the eagle feeding her young in a nest far above the ground. If the eaglet missed, he would be unable to get food as a substitute, since the food intended for it had dropped far below on the ground. The older members never missed their food, for, although they had no slits in their masks, their power guided them in knowing when the meat was thrown to them.

In going through the camp, each member kept a bladder of blood beneath his coat to squirt at nearby spectators. Sisters-in-law were usually the mark for practical jokes. Brothers-in-law chasing them to drench them with the blood of the buffalo. During the dance, each member was required to speak opposite to the meaning intended.

As soon as the dance in the tipi was over, individuals from the band came to be treated for sore eyes. Four old men were the chief eye practitioners and these sat next to the leader of the society in the back portion of the tipi. The patient went over to these men and handed them a gift of little value, such as a bit of tobacco, or a small braid of sweet grass. Part of the form was to present as small a gift as was possible.

Shamanism

Two types of shamans existed among the Assiniboine: the Peju'da Wincasta, or the herb doctor, and the Wincasta Wako^{n}, or the holy man. Members of the Horse Society and the Fool's dance generally operated in the first named category. The Wincasta Wako^{n} was generally a man who had received supernatural power to prophesy, cure sick without the use of herbs and other manifestations of supernatural power. Each of the individuals in the latter category specialized in some phase of the total religious complex of powers. Some became leaders in sacred societies, others had the power to lead war parties, while still others specialized in those diseases caused by supernatural forces that could not be cured through ordinary herbs. The Wincasta Wako^{n} also had the power to inflict damage on persons at a distance. This was described in Returning Hunter's account of one of his war parties, where a spell was placed upon him that paralyzed his feet, the spell not being lifted until another medicine man had been called in to cure him.

Since Shamans of the Wincasta Wako^{n} type have not existed for over twenty years on the Belknap reservation, the accounts of the previous writers need to be utilized to give some picture of shamanism at the aboriginal level.

The first account of Assiniboine shamanism was that of John West in 1820 who observed that sick people were cured by drumming and singing and the sprinkling of water on the parts affected by pain (84).

Denig's account, as of 1854, was more lengthy in describing the Assiniboine shaman:

> "Doctors wear no badge of office, are either of the male or female sex, are not hereditary, nor is their number limited....They are called by the same general name of wako^{n} (85), independent of their individual or real name. They affect to cure diseases, reveal future events, direct where lost articles are to be found, interpret dreams, etc. The ceremony attending any of these things (except sickness) is conducted by the medicine man, first being paid for his services. Afterwards he enters a small lodge built for that purpose, like the vapor (or sweat) bath. Here he drums, rattles and sings alone the greater part of the night, returning his answer to those concerned in the morning. These answers partake of the nature of those of the ancient oracles, are ambiguous, with the view of evading decided failure.
>
> "The majority of these people believe, or say that they believe that some of these old conjurors can 'shoot them with bad spells' at the distance of one hundred miles off and it is on the assumption that they are the cause of some of their deaths, that the lives of some of these professors are sometimes forfeited.
>
> "When an Indian is sick they endeavor to cure him and if unsuccessful and death ensues, they usually keep out of sight until the first of grief is over (86).
>
> "They think that it is the medicine man's unwillingness, not his inability to cure which produces the result....The writer has seen several shot at different times by the relatives of the deceased, on the supposition they caused their death (87).
>
> "In case the patient dies, the

doctor is in great danger and runs great risk of losing his life by the parents or relatives of the deceased. Being aware of this they generally abscond to other camps when death approaches and whatever property they leave behind is taken from them (88).

"They have various forms of doctoring, in all of which the drum forms a principal figure and songs and incantations, all of which are most religiously believed in by the Indians. Old women are as often practitioners as old men and of as great celebrity.

"There is also another reason why these Indians give away so much of their property to the divining men. Independent of these payments securing the doctor's services, they are considered as sacrifices; that is, the man makes himself poor with a view of propitiating the Great Spirit.

"Also it is considered and spoken of as a great honor to give away large articles to the divining man, such as horses, guns, etc., and goes to prove the affection with which they regard their sick relatives. For a long time afterwards the giver will boast of his liberality in these respects and is also looked upon as a man with a large 'heart' (89).

"A child falls sick, the father or some other near relative immediately sends a gun or a horse to the divining man to secure his services. Sometimes smaller articles are sent, and the doctor thinking them beneath his notice, will not pay a visit until enough is offered, which amount varies in proportion as the patient's relatives are rich or poor. He then enters the lodge of the sick person in his medical capacity. His instruments are a drum, a gourd rattle and perhaps a horn cupping apparatus. The doctor is accompanied by five or six others as old as himself (his assistants), bearing drums, bells, rattles....

"All sing and play the instruments mentioned. The doctor slowly approaches the patient, applying his mouth to his naked breast or belly, draws or appears to draw therefrom by suction a worm, sometimes a bug, a wolf hair, or even a small snake, making at the same time gestures, grunts and grimaces. This object he displays to the lookers-on, stating he has extracted the cause of the disease. This operation is repeated several times with like results and after he and the accompanying band partake largely of a dog, or other feast provided for them, they leave for the time being. The whole performance, with the music, incantations, preparations and feasts included, would occupy from two to three hours and often the whole night, if the performers are paid high (90)."

Larpenteur, contemporary of Denig, added to the details by mentioning the types of sickness caused by the evil powers of other medicine men. These, in spite, would put certain individuals under "spells," and only a medicine man with more powerful spiritual helpers could aid in removing the evil influence. These spells varied in type:

"Sometimes they are cords which have been passed through the limbs; at other times wolf hairs have been put between the skin and flesh or bird claws of different kinds. But all of these he extracts by his magic and shows the patient the hairs, claws, cords or whatever may have been the cause of the spell. But some maladies are due to evil spirits, which have gotten into the sick person. In a case of that kind, the doctor stations three or four boys with loaded guns outside the lodge at night; then he beats his drum at an awful rate and the boys shoot off their guns. Should the patient continue to be sick, the treatment is repeated until he is either cured or given up.

"Doctors were often killed for laying spells....(91)."

Powers for becoming a Wincasta Wako^{n} were received through visions. Various spirits appeared to the quester and these informed him of the powers that were to be given him. Women received dreams, without fasting, in which they received powers to cure the sicknesses occuring only in women and to act as midwives (92).

Lowie in his contact with the Assiniboine of Fort Belknap in 1908 was told that the Wincasta Wako^{n} was called in cases of serious sickness to decide, through his spirit aides, whether ordinary doctoring, through herbs, or wako^{n} practices were to be utilized (93).

Exhibitions were also engaged in by various individual shamans. In order to prophesy events, shamans were generally bound with raw hide and placed alone in a tipi. Soon songs would be heard and drums beaten within the tipi, although none but the shaman had gone into the tent, the sounds emanating being considered due

to the presence of the spirit helpers. After a while, the shaman emerged, having been freed from his bonds by his guardian spirits and informed the spectators of the result of his vision.

The direct connection of Assiniboine shamanism with the complexes of individual quest, religion and the various societies of a curing nature is thus seen in the brief description given above. Shamanism was part of the desire, on the part of the Assiniboine, to avoid and circumvent the misfortunes that were part of earthly existence. The powers received by the shamans were similar in content to those received by the individual quester in search for the formula for security, the difference being that the shaman received powers that would not only aid himself, but all those who were in need of his services. Payment was necessary for aid, for no individual received aid from the various spirits without payment through fasting, praying and torturing. Shamans, also, were not a class alone. Great warriors, chiefs, successful hunters, founders of societies could all be classified as shamans, through the powers that they had received from their tutelary spirits. In any war party could be found one or two men who had received powers to inflict damage upon their enemies. Their powers, however, were not to be used against members of their own tribe, else the spirits would deflect this ill-use of these acquired powers to themselves. The uncertainty of the statements upon the point whether these powers were inherited, as in the case of the shaman in charge of the Sun-Dance, seems to suggest that powers were acquired and only rarely inherited; assuming by inheritance that the same spirits could visit the child as well as the father. "Powers" in war shirts and herb medicines could be purchased, as well as those "powers" that were part of membership in certain societies.

Naming

The child was named about three weeks after birth. Where the parents were poverty-stricken, naming was often postponed for three to six months after birth, until enough time had elapsed to get together sufficient presents for the ceremony. Oftimes, a near relative would receive the name of the child through a vision or a dream, in which case no expensive ceremony was necessary. If such were not the the case, a famous warrior, or a great shaman would be invited to bestow a name upon the child; no difference existing in the parental attitude, whether the child were a boy or a girl. Upon the day set for the naming, a feast of dog-meat was prepared by the parents and invitations issued to as many of the friends and relatives as could be provided for by the food.

Were a shaman invited, food would be cooked and he, in company with members of his society, or other shamans, would arrive at the tipi of the child's parents. A pipe was then lit by the father, passed around to the shaman assigned to do the naming, and then to the other guests. As each smoked the pipe, he prayed to the various spirits for the good health and future success of the child. The food that was prepared was then eaten and the shaman arose, said another prayer for the child and received the child from the mother. He then prayed that the spirits would look upon the child and protect it from all dangers, and, when finished, uttered the name that he had chosen. The baby was then passed to the guests who prayed for the child and repeated the name that had been chosen, finally handing the child back to the mother. By this ceremony, the spirits that roved the air and that were part of the earth were called to act as potential guardians of the child. The child had been introduced to them, that they might know it and keep watch over its behavior. If the child named was a boy, the spirits would see to it that he grew up healthy and strong, with all the characteristics that made for a good hunter and warrior. If a girl, the spirits would protect her from all danger and insure that she grow up into a good woman, who would have no other man but her husband. Naming by shamans was more expensive to the parents, but it was felt to be a farsighted means of insurance due to the protection that was received for the child from the spirits.

The naming of a child by a great warrior was done in the same manner. The warrior chose names after great deeds in warfare that he had succeeded in performing through the good luck given him by his tutelary spirits. A name given by a warrior was considered as great as that given by a shaman, in the sense that the good luck existent in the deeds symbolized by the name given would be transferred to the daily existence of the child.

The names given by shamans were names such as, "Sky-Blanket," "Cloud-Blanket," "Talks Different," "Medicine Robe," and"Coming Day." Names were also given by shamans that embodied the following terms: "The Sun," "Moon," "Thunder Bird," "Eagle," "Bear," "Buffalo," "Elk," "Coyote," "Stone," "Wolf," "Earth," "Wind," "Day" and "Night."

The child named by the warriors

was also protected by the spirits above, for warriors all had supernatural power that made them noted men of the tribe. Names given by these warriors included such names as, "First Shoot," "Takes-The-Gun," Spotted Horse," "Plenty Coups," and "Two Guns."

Some were named by the members of the society in which the father belonged. Many Coos received his name from the Horse Society; his name implying that he would be successful in capturing many horses from the enemy.

Children of poor parents who could not afford presents of horses to shamans and warriors were often named after the events in their parents' lives, or else they might receive a name based upon their physical peculiarities, such as "Turn-Toes," "Big Mouth" and "Lame-One."

No difference existed between names for boys and names for girls. The same name could be held by both; the difference existing in the suffix "wi," representing the feminine gender.

The girl held her name throughout life; secondary names being generally nicknames, referring to her gait, or to her appearance. The boy, on the other hand, often had his name changed upon killing his first enemy. At that time, a horse would be given to some old warrior or shaman, who would make the rounds of the camp, singing the praises of the youngster and shouting out the new name that had been given him. Thus, Returning Hunter, was named Coming-Day, after having killed his first enemy, a Blood Indian. His brother, by the same name, had been killed by the Blood Indians, a few years previous and in token of the vengeance of his brother's death Returning Hunter received his brother's name. Yet, the second name did not totally displace the first name received. In Returning Hunter's case he was still known by his first name, although at ceremonial affairs he would be called by both (94).

The Raising of the Child

No ceremony was connected with ear-piercing, nor were gifts given, since it was often the grandmother who did the piercing when the child was about two or three years old.

Children were weaned when they were about three years old; the reason being not only to delay the birth of the next child, but also because there was little food besides meat that could be eaten by the small child.

Children were never whipped by the parents, although they might be slapped by the mother now and then, but this at a time when the father was not about. The children were indulged but not spoiled. The wishes of the child were gratified in every way possible, but little contact was afforded with the adults about him. The love of parents toward their children was neither displayed by fondling nor by petting, but rather by the number of horses given away at ceremonies in honor of their children, or by the presents given to strangers, that they might be of value to their children in later life. Love toward children was ceremonially crystallized in an Assiniboine pattern. The parents that loved their children most were the ones, on the basis of this pattern, who gave away the most presents to publicly announce their great love for their children.

From the time children were old enough to understand, they were made aware of the components that formed the cultural ideal of childhood. No difference in treatment was shown between the boy and girl of the family while young.

The cultural ideals of behavior of children were expressed as follows:

> "Your place is near the door of the tipi. Stay there. When visitors come, either go outside or stay in the place intended for you. Do not talk to people older than you, unless they speak to you first. When people ask you questions, answer in as few words as possible.. Never walk in front of old people; they do not like it, for it shows lack of respect toward them. Do not talk back to older people; you will be looked upon as bad. Do not greet people older than you. If they want to see you, they will talk to you. Do not be disrespectful or disobedient; people will not like you and you will be ridiculed in other tipis. The more you obey and the more things you do for people, the better they will like you. Pay attention when old people talk to you, else they will see this inattention and refuse to help you with their powers. Respect people if you want to be respected. Do not steal things; you will be ridiculed by the tribe when you are caught. Do not be quarrelsome, else people will not like you and they will speak of your quarrelsomeness. Do things that make people like you, so that they may say only good about you. Obey and love your parents, for they love you and are interested in making of you a highly respected individual

of the tribe, that people may think well of you. Respect your relatives. If they need aid, give it to them. Do not joke with older people; they will not like it. If you want to be well liked by everyone, gain respect by good deeds and good behavior (95)."

The main compulsive found within the ideals stated is that of receiving the approval of all the individuals with whom the child had contact. For, in later life the child was to find that status was never assured, but always dependent upon the good will of those who were to be the arbiters of status.

Boldness in children was considered a bad habit and was always discouraged. Children who attempted to talk when adults were visiting were ordered to leave the lodge.

Although children were never whipped, continuous scolding was their lot for any infractions of behavior. Thus, when a child was found stealing, the parents, grand-parents and uncles, in the Assiniboine kinship sense, felt that the disgrace was theirs. The stolen property was taken from the child and returned with some gifts to atone for the deed. The child was taken along with the property and arriving at the tipi, from which the goods had been stolen, the grandfather would say, "This child knows no better, as is shown by it stealing your property. Here is your property. Do not feel bad about it, for we have brought something as atonement." The child was then forgiven by the victim of its depredations and then lectured upon the evil consequences of stealing objects that did not belong to it. Upon return, the child was scolded and made to feel that it had disgraced its relatives, the scolding ceasing only when the parents felt that the child realized the shamefulness of its deed. Then, no more would be said of the act.

"In the old days, the boy that stole was made to feel the shame of his deed. He was told that he would never grow up to be a good man if he stole. However, if he wanted to steal, he was told to grow up and become a great warrior by stealing horses from an enemy tribe. That was the only type of stealing that would make a big name for him in the tribe. Petty stealing from his fellow tribesmen would make him ridiculed and disliked by all."

"The advice given to children, from the time they were able to understand what was said to them, was to be kind to the old. They were always told to take pity on the old. We were told: When you see an old man that is in need, invite him to your lodge. Give him food of the best that he is able to eat. Give him whatever clothing you have to spare, such as, moccasins, leggings, blankets and other wearing apparel. An old man must have supernatural power, else he would not live to such an old age. Therefore, if you are kind to old people, you will have good luck when they thank you. After you have given the old man something to eat and some presents of clothing, give him your pipe to smoke. See that the pipe is clean, so that the old man will not have any difficulty in smoking. Old men appreciate these small things and by doing this, you will have stored up friendships to aid you in time of need.

"When the tribe moves on, some will walk and some, who are more fortunate, will have horses to ride. If you see an old man on foot, get off your horse and present it to the old man. If the horse is a good one, you will have good luck, for the old man has had many supernatural experiences and he has many spirits about him to aid you for your good deeds. Remember, too, that you will be able to live to be an old man if you do these things (96)."

In the formation of the behavior of the children, stories were told by the grandmothers and grandfathers of the great exploits of former warriors and chiefs. On special occasions, some old man known for his ability to recount the myths of the tribe would be called in to tell them. The stories told by the grandparents were told with the main purpose of instilling in the minds of the young the traditional behavior ideals of the young.

At the killing of the first game, a horse was often given by the parents to the camp crier to make the rounds of the camp shouting the deed and praises of the youngster. This also happened when a mountain lion or a grizzly bear was killed by the young hunter. In Simon Firstshoot's case, his grandmother gave away a horse the first time he killed a mountain lion.

Since status was relative, being based completely upon social opinion, the ideal of behaving in such a manner as to receive the maximum amount of approbation was continuously being impressed upon the minds of the young. When young children cried, if boys, they were told that those who cried never grew up to be brave warriors. If girls, they were told that they

would never be able to give birth to children later on, if they continued to be weak through crying.

> "If a child grows up to be bad, people will say, 'He refused to take the advice of his relatives. His people were fine people and if he had only attempted to behave like them, he would not be considered to be so low at present.'
>
> "When a child disobeys, the parents, friends and relatives pointed out to it the dangers of disobedience. Others in the band were spoken of as having disobeyed their parents, with the result that the latter refused to aid them in time of need. Others in the band, sensing the parental objections, also refused to aid them. By treatment of this sort the child tended to be good. For it was very important that the child learn to be charitable and to respect all the other members of his tribe."(97)

This, then, was the means used to develop the incentives of cultural drives for social superiority. Due to the strong competition existing among the young, ridicule and intense jealousy were often the consequences. The pattern of striving for social superiority became so important within the framework of Assiniboine culture that demoralization was the lot of the one who failed in some manner to show his superiority through some culturally defined outlet. Not to have received social esteem would have made Returning Hunter, Many Coos, August Moccasin and others of the older generation whom I met feel that their lives were in vain. The pattern was imprinted to such an extent in their youth that it formed the main drive for desiring to become distinguished in the eyes of the band.

Even in warfare, identification with the band was such in the matter of status, in the eyes of the enemy tribes, that bravery was one means of displaying band superiority to the enemy. Sons were told by their fathers to dress well before going to battle and to be cleanly in person, else were they killed by the enemy and their scalp found dirty, their tribe would be ridiculed and held in disdain by the enemy (98).

Girls were trained to emulate the Assiniboine ideal of a good woman. Girls who were most industrious were sure to receive the most praise from the other feminine members of the band. To these belonged the most eligible young men; the hunters, warriors and men of property. Girls who were lazy and loose in morals received their counterparts as husbands. Since the Assiniboine ideal of a good woman was one who knew no other man besides her husband, girls were warned not to become too unduly familiar with the young men of the camp, nor to elope with young men, a violation of the customary procedure of having the parents act as intermediaries in marriage. The girls were advised to be modest and shy in their behavior and to display their good deeds by generosity and kindness. Like the boys they were told never to boast unless called for by ceremonial outlets. Lying was discouraged, both among the boys and girls, by specifically pointing out cases of individuals who had invited contempt through their lying activities. Quarrelling between brothers and sisters was stopped by pointing out that quarrelsome individuals rarely received the esteem of the band, no matter how great their deeds. (99)

Marriage

Marriage within the Assiniboine culture was not fixed ceremonially, since it meant merely the socially approved means whereby two of the opposite sex were able to live together and as such had many variations. The first reference to this socially approved mating was that of Alexander Henry in 1776, in which intercourse between the proposed mates formed a preliminary to courtship. (100)

The economic basis of marriage, with the patterns attending the treatment of wives was stated by Denig:

> "A plurality of wives is required by a good hunter. The domestic peace of a family does not suffer much on that account. There are quarrels among the women occasionally, but these generally end in personal abuse and recrimination, or are quelled by the master, if present.
>
> "Jealousy among the women of the same lodge are nothing and do not affect the actions of the man further than to stop the disturbance. But jealousy on the part of the man toward some one of his women supposed to be unfaithful are accompanied by terrible punishments, not infrequently by death...Women are not interfered with by the man in their management of household affairs. Such interference would excite too much ridicule for their pride (101)."

The patterns of marriage were that of forming a close tie of relationship between the two families, in order that aid be received by the young couple from both sides. The varieties in the forms of marriage

were but externals; the content of mutual aid in the combination of the two families being little affected.

"The suitor always endeavors to induce the girl to run away with him. It shows her great regard for him and flatters his vanity that she leaves her parents and departs to another band, with and under his protection. Next, having the girl in his possession obviates the possibility of a refusal and also afterwards he can pay his own price for her instead of that demanded by her relatives. To accomplish this they paint, dress and adorn themselves extravagantly and are always on the watch to catch the woman outside or away from the view of her parents....

"Should he obtain her consent to depart with him, they will agree upon a place of rendezvous and signal, which he repeats to her in the night with his flute from outside the lodge at the appointed time to meet him and they leave, traveling day and night until they arrive at another camp. Here they stay with some distant relative or friend three or four weeks and return as man and wife, when he looks around for some means to satisfy the parents.

"If, however, by all their efforts they cannot succeed in this they then marry. When this is decided upon, no courtship is necessary. The suitor sends a horse by the hands of some respectable man who ties the animal to the door of the lodge where the parents reside, and entering, presents a pan of cooked meat to the girl who is desired as a wife. Consent is asked and obtained or refused through the medium of this old man. The nearest of kin are always asked (the girl's father or mother); if she has neither, then the eldest brother or uncle, etc.

"If the parents refuse, both the victuals and horse are sent back and negotiations are ended. But if the suitor be determined to have her he will try again, sending two or three horses, guns, kettles and all he can raise, until objection on that score is overruled and she becomes his property by going to his lodge at night and remaining there. When the right price is paid, the offer is seldom rejected, though refusals are given on other grounds, such as family feuds, or inability on the part of the applicant as a hunter and warrior...

"All the son-in-law has and does for years is to the advantage of his wife's parents. The most of the meat and skins killed by him are carried to her parents by her until she has a child and her husband commences working for himself.

"The men usually marry between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years and the women are given away from the age of twelve upwards...

"The most advantageous time for a man to marry is on his return from a successful war excursion with the horses of his enemy in his possession. The manner in which his means to purchase have been procured gives him additional favor both with the girl as a brave man and with the girl's parents as one who can at any time repair their losses in horses if it be necessary.

"After marriage the brothers-in-law on both sides become friendly, associate, make feasts and exchange gifts, aiding each other on all occasions. No quarrels take place among them, nor indeed among any near relations. The whole forms a posse , a body, a support in times of trial, need and danger (102)."

The variation in the marriage forms is seen in the account of Larpenteur, the contemporary of Denig's. According to Larpenteur, elopement took place only when the young man did not possess the means to present to the parents of the girl he desired to marry, or when the parents refused their consent. In normal cases, where the suitor was one of good station, the more presents given by the young man, the better was he considered by the other members of the tribe. The consent of the girl was always necessary and Larpenteur quotes a normal conversation between the parents and the daughter over the refusal to entertain a suit from a well-to-do suitor: "These then do all they can to persuade the girl, saying, 'Take pity on us, daughter--this man likes us. He has given us a great many things. We are poor; we stand much in need of horses. He is a good hunter. He will make you live well. You need not remain poor.' Yet, if the girl does not consent, they will not force her, she being the master of her will."(103)

If the girl were the eldest, having two or three sisters, the latter were also considered the man's wives and these could not be married to others without his consent. In the case of plural marriages, the first wife was considered the mistress of the household (104).

Young men were told by their par-

ents never to pick orphan girls, or girls whose parents were poor, for these would be unable to help the bridegroom in times of need. The ideal of the young man was to marry a girl whose relatives were influential and wealthy, for by allying himself with these through marriage, his own station would be bettered (105).

The form of marriage as practised in the eighties of the past century, before the beginning of the reservation days was described to me by Many Coos. Many Coos had known whom he was to marry four years before the actual marriage took place. His wife had informed her parents that she desired him as a husband and these, taking presents with them, informed Many Coos' parents of their daughter's desire. The match being arranged, four years elapsed before the girl was considered old enough to marry; this taking place when she was seventeen years old and he twenty.

The girl then cooked some meat and when this was ready, an old man of prominence, not necessarily a relative, was called, Together with the girl the old man went to the tipi of the bridegroom. As they approached the tipi, the old man shouted, "I am coming home," signifying that was now the tipi of the girl. The old man then came in, followed by the girl bearing the meat. After the pipe had been presented to the parents of Many Coos, the old man sat on the right of Many Coos, while his future wife sat on his left. Four pieces of meat were then placed in a bowl and both Many Coos and his prospective wife began to eat out of this one bowl. After they had eaten two pieces of meat apiece, a bowl of water was furnished them and both drank out of the same bowl. When this was over, the old man began to lecture Many Coos. He told him to love his wife by providing her with good food and protecting her from all danger, never to whip her nor allow himself to become jealous of her without good reason. When he had finished, he ended his talk by saying, "My grandchild, this girl is now your wife. You will have one fireplace together and you will live in one lodge. Love her and be good to her and in consequence you shall be blessed with old age. Her father is now your father-in-law; her mother is now your mother-in-law. They love their daughter and they will now love you."

The girl was then told to be clean, neat and good natured. She was asked to please her husband by having his meals ready on time; to be honest and truthful at all times with her husband. Her husband's possessions were now to be her own to aid her; the same being true of her possessions to aid her husband. The principle of mutual aid was stressed in the lecture given Many Coos and his bride. Then Many Coos' parents were urged to treat their new daughter-in-law as their own daughter and to love her as much as they did their son.

After this was over, the girl returned to her parents' tipi and soon returned with a large bundle of clothes, beaded clothing for the bridegroom, one pair of moccasins made especially for marriage use, seven horses, four guns and twelve pair of moccasins to be divided among the bridegroom's relatives. These presents were then distributed to Many Coos' relatives, who, in turn, got together the same number of presents to be brought back with the girl to her relatives. At the same time, Many Coos gave a pinto pony to his wife for her to keep as her own property.

Many Coos hunted for his father-in-law and mother-in-law for a few years until his children came. His parents-in-law, in return, continuously plied him with gifts, while his parents gave many presents to his wife. The shame of separation was so imprinted in his mind that he felt it to be a great disgrace were quarrels to arise that would make living together unbearable. Throughout the first years of his marriage he was continuously told that he would lose the respect of the old people were it to be known that his marriage was unsuccessful through his own failings. At the same time, his wife was told that were she to hold the respect of the band, her behavior must approximate the ideal of a woman who knew no other man but her husband and who was obedient and good-natured.

Girls were always warned never to marry men who were quarrelsome, for life would become a series of unhappinesses for those married to such men. At the same time, the latter, due to their quarrelsomeness would alienate their in-laws who would then refuse to aid them in time of need. Quarrelsome men, it was said, never ranked high in the estimation of the band. Men who had physical disabilities, or physical diseases were also held as poor husbands and only girls who had the same disabilities married them. Boys who were orphans found marriage difficult, unless they had, through their own efforts, made out well as hunters and warriors, in which case they received influential friends to aid them in time of need. Girls who were dissolute and who found themselves in moral scrapes were unable to choose husbands of standing; these had to content themselves with the poor

hunters and the cowards who had never been on war parties.

Individuals who had never married were few in Assiniboine society. Returning Hunter knew but two men who had never married, both being famous warriors and hunters. At the same time, he knew of but one woman who had never married. This woman was very much desired by many young men, but she, having a strong dislike of men, vowed that she would never marry.

Widows and widowers generally remarried from one to three years after the death of their mates. The longer they waited to remarry, the more they were considered to have loved their departed mates.

Love medicine was used by the Assiniboine young men and women to aid them in their quest for mates. Most of the love medicine was received from the Cree and although generally potent, it was considered to work physical danger upon the individuals to whom this medicine was given. Returning Hunter used various types of love medicine. One type that he had used was a white root ground up into a fine powder that he mixed with pine gum. One of the Blood Indians whom Returning Hunter killed on the war-path had on his person two pieces of birch bark carved to represent a man and a woman. The hearts were carved out of these figures and they were tied facing one another. The danger that lurked in using love medicine was that it also brought bad luck in the chase and in warfare. Returning Hunter's formula for success was to make love to any woman who seemed to show that she liked him. Love medicine could be made by anyone, man or woman, who had received the proper power from competent individuals.

Despite the strictness in which the ideal of marriage was framed, the contact between the sexes, as a norm, was filled with numerous love affairs and illicit romances. Some of the ruses of the young men were similar in form to those used by other cultures. Returning Hunter's ruse was to make love to young women by telling them that he wanted to marry them. At the same time, there were always married women to whom love could easily be made, when away from the main body of the camp.

Inheritance and Property Rights

Little was inherited by the son from his father, since most of the possessions of the latter were either buried with the deceased, or given away to strangers and mourners. At times a father would present some property to an eldest son, although no general rule as to the giving of presents to the eldest son occurred among the Assiniboine.

> "If the parent be a chief he will, if time permits, present his eldest son with his medal when he anticipates death, if the son is of sufficient age to wear it. They are anxious to be succeeded in their office by some of their children and the eldest would soon be of sufficient age to take upon himself the responsibility. But unfortunately for the wishes of the parent the office or station of the chief does not depend upon the law of primogeniture, or on any other, but upon the will of the greater part to be ruled by him who is thus designated and the capacities and standing of the applicant.
>
> "Most of these Indians die violent deaths, either by war, accidents or the chase, or rapid diseases and thus have no opportunity to dispose of their property, yet even when they have time do not often do it owing to the difficulty of having these requests fulfilled after demise. The dying request of a chief or warrior, if he makes any, is that his favorite horse, or sometimes two or three horses, shall be killed at his grave. Other horses, his gun, etc., are sometimes given to his relatives as bequests and this gift contains an intimation to go to war after his death (106)."

Sometimes, most of a man's horses were inherited by his wife, after the best were either killed or turned loose. If a son had reached his majority, part of his father's horses could be inherited by him (107). Medicine bundles and power to conduct certain ceremonial societies were often passed on from father to son.

Property among the Assiniboine was mainly personal property. These included horses, which were the main index of wealth, guns, clothing, ornaments, cooking utensils, tipis and powers. Guns and horses were usually only the property of the man, though horses could also be owned by women. Tipis, travois and dogs were the personal property of the women, as well as all the interior furnishings of the tipi.

Articles found, or made, or stolen from enemies, or given them, or bought were considered the personal property of the individual in whose possession they were found. An article was considered lost when the original owner had abandoned his search. In the last analysis, however, property rights

were dependent upon the number of relatives and friends an individual had, who could protect him from being despoiled of his own possessions (108). To take away property by force was considered a disgraceful action and no individual was able to hold the respect of the men and the women in his band after such an act.

Gifts were not given without some expectation of some return, either in the receiving of some gift in return as an equivalent, or in the acquiring of certain powers. Gifts for gifts' sake was not practised in Assiniboine culture.

> "If one observes another in possession of a fine horse he would like to have, he will take the occasion of some feast or dance and publicly present him with a gun or something of value, flattering his bravery, praising his liberality and throwing out general hints as to his object, though not directly mentioning it. He will let the matter rest thus for some days and if the other does not present him with the horse will demand the return of his gun, or gift, which is done.
>
> "One sometimes will give a horse to another for some purpose or equivalent and allow him to keep it; but should the receiver give the horse to a third person, the original owner will often claim him and take him back, giving for his reason that he did not bestow him on that person and although he had given him to the first, he should have kept him and not given him away to another. Smaller gifts are regarded in the light of loans and generally paid for in some way. They may be considered as exchanges of necessities...
>
> "If an Indian buys a horse from another and it is stolen the first night or two afterwards, part and sometimes the whole of the payment must be returned to pacify the loser (109)."

Crime and Punishment

Alexander the Younger in 1809 came across three tents of Assiniboine who had taken refuge with a band of Blackfoot to escape retaliation for a murder committed by one of the party (110).

Harmon, at the same date, observed that property was often given by the relatives of a murderer to the relatives of the murdered man in settlement of the crime. In most cases, however, the death of the murderer, or one of his near relatives would satisfy the relatives of the murdered man. The relatives included the father, brothers, grandfathers, uncles and cousins to the third degree, as well as the male-in-laws, if the murdered man were married (111).

Homicide was most often committed in self-defense, since no inducements existed for a man to commit murder in order to gain possession of some one's wife, horses or other property, since often the killer had to relinquish his own property and flee the band in order to escape death as retaliation. Or if the killing could be atoned by property it meant that most of the murderer's property, as well as that of his nearest relatives would be taken to satisfy the dead man's relatives. With the exception of enemies, whose killing did not fall into the category of murder, life was not taken without definite provocation, either to save face in the eyes of the tribe, or to save one's own life. In the case of murder that could not be satisfied by the giving of property to the dead man's relatives, the murderer was compelled to escape to another band, or another tribe with the realization that his death at the hands of the murdered man's relatives was but a matter of time (112).

Theft was most often punished by the disgrace attached to the deed. Rarely was the thief punished physically. Punishment was inflicted only when the thief refused to give up the stolen goods. Returning Hunter told me the tale of a Cree who had accepted the hospitality of his stepfather and who retaliated by stealing his father's best buffalo horse. The theft was discovered soon after and a small group of warriors went off in pursuit. The thief was soon overtaken and brought back to camp. The Cree was so shamefaced because of his deed that Returning Hunter's stepfather felt sorry for him and urged the latter to forget the deed by inviting him into his tipi for a meal. The Cree left in good spirits, but the story of his reciprocation to the kind hospitality given him reached his camp with consequent disgrace for himself. Ceremonial thievery existed in the young men's society of "Provision Stealers", but this was mainly limited to food and was sanctioned by the opinion of the band. The disgrace attending any stealing of other's possessions was a sufficient deterrent of theft.

Often, where the thief attempted to take personal property of great value, such as good horses, or guns, the camp soldiers would be notified, as well as the relatives of the individual robbed. The consequence was

often bloodshed, or the banishment of the thief along with his close relatives from the band. Theft of objects of small value brought down tribal disgust and contempt upon the head of the guilty individual.

The punishment attending an individual caught lying was mainly mental, in the sense that he would henceforth never be believed. The habitual liar was generally held in contempt and his punishment consisted of his being ignored by societies and war parties.

Rape of virgins was uncommon in Assiniboine Society. Where it occurred the attacker was often killed or injured by the relatives of the young girl. Rape diminished the chances of the young girl for marriage, besides displaying contempt for the power of the girl's relatives. But one instance of rape was known to Returning Hunter and Many Coos; this having been committed by a shaman known for his sorcery. Nothing was done to this individual due to the strength of his relatives and fear of his power spirits. His act caused the entire band to fear him and he, in consequence, became isolated from many of the group activities.

Where a man obtained the consent of the woman and committed adultery with her, punishment was only inflicted when both were actually caught in the act. However, if news of this reached the woman's husband the woman was severely beaten by her husband and the man left untouched, though oftimes the offender would be compelled to give a gift to the offended husband to prevent retaliation. Where a woman was known to have had contact with men, not her husbands, she received the opprobrious name of Witiko Wion, or Foolish Woman. Such women were sent away by their husbands, after a severe flogging. Sometimes they were killed by irate husbands.

> "The husband causes her head to be closely shaven and her person painted over with a heavy coat of vermilion mixed with bear's grease; she is then mounted on a horse, the mane and tail of which have been cut off and the whole body also daubed with vermilion; an old man conducts her all around the camp and proclaims aloud her infidelity; at last he commits her to her own relatives, who receive the culprit with a good beating. A woman cannot be subjected to a more degrading punishment (113)."

Women sent away by their husbands often became prostitutes "lending themselves for pay." Prostitutes were those whose husbands and relatives had disowned them.

> "Such a woman is gone beyond redemption. There are three different degrees of prostitution, one of which is looked upon as legal. This is when she is loaned with the consent of her parents and then the larger the payment the more honor it is for the woman. When little quarrels arise among the mothers in regard to the character of their daughters, they will say, 'What have you to say against my daughter? What did you get when you lent her? Look at mine-- what she got! You are making a Wittikowion of your daughter.'(114)"

Unlike the Blackfoot and the Cree, there is no evidence to show that an adulteress had her nose cut off, nor her body disfigured by her irate husband. In the cases where men were killed over women, evidence seems to point to the fact that they were killed for refusing to part with women taken from their husbands. Death was only inflicted when the offender's relatives were too few in number to offer much of a threat.

1. E. T. Denig, Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Forty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930), pp. 530-2.
2. E. Cones (ed.), New Light on the History of the North-West, Journals of A. Henry the Younger (New York, 1899), Vol. 2, pp. 518-20.
3. Denig, op. cit. p. 532.
4. John McDonnel in L. R. Masson (ed.), Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest (Quebec, 1889), Vol.1, pp. 279-80.
5. Returning Hunter, informant.
6. Denig, op. cit., pp. 583-4.
7. Ibid., p. 509.
8. Ibid., p. 405.
9. Ibid., p. 532.
10. Ibid., p. 509
11. Simon Firstshoot, informant.
12. Masson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 279. Coues, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 514-5.
13. Jonathan Carver, Travels through the Indian Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767 and 1768 (London, 1779) p. 230. George Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, Vol.1, p. 60.
14. Masson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 279.
15. Cones, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 517.
16. R. G. Thwaites (ed.), Travels of Maximilian, Prince Zu Wied (Early Western Travels, Vol. 22, Cleveland, 1906), p. 371.
17. Harmon, Daniel Williams, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America (Andover, 1820), p. 67.

18. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1894-06 (New York, 1904-5), Vol. 1, p. 310.
19. Coues, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.513.
20. Returning Hunter, informant.
21. Denig, op. cit., p. 578
22. Ibid., plate 75.
23. Maximilian, op. cit., Vol. 23, p. 16.
24. See the following sources for complete descriptions of the sweat lodge:
    a. Harmon, op. cit., p. 64.
    b. Denig, op. cit., p . 425.
    c. R. Lowie, The Assiniboine (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 4, Part 1), p. 52.
25. Lowie, op. cit., p. 50.
26. Charles M. Gates (ed.), Five Fur Traders of the Northwest (University of Minnesota Press, 1933), p. 114.
27. Coues, op. cit., Vol. 2, p.518.
28. Ibid., p. 579.
29. Harmon, op. cit., pp. 336-7.
30. Returning Hunter, informant.
31. Ibid.
32. Harmon, op. cit., p. 338.
33. Denig, op. cit., p. 519.
34. Matthew Cocking, An Adventurer from Hudson's Bay. Journal of Matthew Cocking from York Factory to the Blackfeet Country (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, Vol. 2, Ottawa, 1909), p. 116. See also Agnes C. Laut, The Conquests of the Great Northwest (London, 1909), Vol. 1, pp. 344 and 349 for an account by Anthony Hendry in 1754 of the Assiniboine means of transportation.
35. Denig, op. cit., p. 541.
36. Ibid., pp. 540-1.
37. Ibid.
38. Lowie, op. cit., p. 14.
39. Denig, op. cit., p. 505.
40. Simon Firstshoot, informant.
41. Interestingly enough, the invitation to the Stonies was tendered by a group of Blood Indians who had informed the Fort Belknap Assiniboine of the presence of the Stonies the year previous.
42. Crazy Bear had gone with three other Assiniboine to the Platte River, at a time when the other band chiefs were afraid to accept the invitation, since the route along the Yellowstone River was occupied by marauding bands of Blackfoot. The American Assiniboine accepted Crazy Bear as their chief primarily because of the power of the white soldiery supposed to be behind him. Crazy Bear was quick to accept this political opportunity, and in all his later speeches, he was careful to point out that he was the only individual who stood between the American Assiniboine and the destructiveness of the American soldiery. In a sense, then, the Assiniboine acceptance of Crazy Bear was a negative one.
43. Burpee, Journals of La Verendrye and his Sons, p. 311.
44. Ibid., p. 446.
45. Ibid., p. 359.
46. Ibid., p. 366.
47. Masson, op. cit., Vol. 1, p.278.
48. Ibid., p. 288.
49. Lewis and Clark, op. cit., Vol. 6, pp. 104-105.
50. Coues, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 522-23.
51. Thwaites, Travels of Maximilian, Prince Zu Wied, Vol. 22, p. 387.
52. Compare Denig, op. cit., p.430. I have taken some liberties with Denig's list in light of later corrections.
53. Lowie, op. cit., pp. 33-34. Corrections and additions were made by August Moccasin, informant.
54. Denig, op. cit., p.544.
55. Denig, op. cit. p. 436.
56. Charles Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader (Chicago, 1933), p.334.
57. Denig, op. cit., p. 443; Larpenteur, op. cit., p. 334.
58. Burpee, Journals of La Verendrye, p. 317.
59. Returning Hunter, informant.
60. Eagle Chief to Simon Firstshoot.
61. Returning Hunter, informant.
62. Ibid., and Denig, op. cit., p. 562.
63. Ibid., p. 561.
64. Ibid., p. 563.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p. 564.
67. Returning Hunter, informant.
68. Ibid.
69. Compare Denig, op. cit., p.545.
70. Ibid., p. 549.
71. Compare Lowie, op. cit., p.30.
72. Denig, op. cit., pp. 559-60.
73. Lowie, op. cit., p. 31.
74. Returning Hunter, informant.
75. Compulsives are used here as strong forms of behavior culturally conditioned.
76. These and the following statements were received as data from Returning Hunter, age 76 and Medicine Boy, age 54, my two main informants on the Fort Belknap reservation.
77. N. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson (editors), Life, Letters and Travels of Father De Smet (New York, 1905), Vol. 3, pp. 936-7.
78. William Berry, informant.
79. This procedure could not be counted as a formal coup; the gesture being symbolic.
80. Compare Larpenteur, op. cit., pp. 331-2.
81. Lowie, op. cit., p. 57.
82. Clark Wissler, Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 2, 1908, part 1), p. 456.
83. Returning Hunter denied that the Fool's Dance was held only in summer time, insisting that the dance could be had at any time, after having

been dreamt of by the leader.

84. John West, Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America, during the years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 (London, 1824), pp. 39-40.

85. Denig does not distinguish between the Herb Doctor and the Holy Man.

86. Denig, op. cit., p. 494.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., p. 424.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., p. 423.

91. Larpenteur, op. cit., pp.336-7.

92. Returning Hunter, informant.

93. Lowie, op. cit., p. 43.

94. Many Coos, informant; Simon Firstshoot, informant.

95. August Moccasin, informant.

96. Many Coos, informant.

97. Returning Hunter, informant.

98. William Berry, informant.

99. Many Coos, informant.

100. Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776 (Chicago, 1921), pp. 290-1.

101. Denig, op. cit., p. 304.

102. Ibid., pp. 510-12.

103. Larpenteur, op. cit., pp. 328-31.

104. Ibid.

105. Returning Hunter, informant.

106. Denig, op. cit., pp. 478-9.

107. Lowie, op. cit., p. 42.

108. Denig, op. cit., p. 475.

109. Ibid.

110. Coues, op. cit., p. 577.

111. Harmon, pp. 134-5.

112. Cf. Denig, op. cit., p. 480.

113. De Smet, op. cit., p. 943.

114. Larpenteur, op. cit., p. 327.

Part Three

The Present-Day Culture of the Fort Belknap Assiniboine

The Reservation

The Fort Belknap reservation is located in north central Montana, extending from the Milk River to the crest of the Little Rocky mountains. The reservation is about twenty-five miles wide and forty miles long. Originally, the reservation contained about fifty thousand more acres, mostly in timber, which was taken away in 1896 to form a national forest. The lands taken were those of the middle and southern part of the Little Rockies where gold had been previously discovered. Of the 622,917 acres originally set aside for the reservation according to the Act of May 1, 1888, but 565,000 remain.

The towns surrounding the reservation are Harlem to the northwest, Dodson to the northeast, and Landusky and Zortman to the southwest and southeast, respectively. The agency is located some four and a half miles from Harlem on United States Highway No. 2. Harlem is the shopping point for the reservation. Here in this hamlet of seven hundred odd persons is located the railroad station, the telegraph office, the bank, two hotels, three restaurants, three dry good stores, a comfortable movie house with shows four evenings a week, three well-stocked grocery stores, two hardware stores, two garages, four filling stations, two drug stores, one ice cream parlor, one state liquor store, seven beer parlors, a printing plant, a shoe maker, a tailor, a dress maker and an assortment of other stores, including a harness-maker's shop, an office of the Montana Power and Light Company and a little jewelry shop.

Harlem, being four miles removed from the reservation, is the week-end gathering place for the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre. Here families come on Saturday to buy their provisions for the week. Due to the predominance of so-called Cree and Chippewa half-bloods, beer is freely sold to the Indians; since beer can legally be sold to non-wards, the beer-parlor owners operate under the pretence of asking anyone who looks Indian whether he is ward or non-ward. As expected the Indians always replied in the negative. At three beer-parlors the proprietors did away with the questioning and served beer to anyone who asked for it.

Few Indians live in Harlem; these being mainly those with white blood predominating. Indian families as such are not found in town. The high school for the reservation children is located in Harlem, and here, during the school year, some thirty Indian children mingle with their white school playmates, absorbing much of what they feel to be white culture. Here also is found the consolidated grammar school taking children from the Milk River valley district of the reservation. Each morning a school bus picks up the children at their homes, returning them at four o'clock. While the Indians on the southern part of the reservation have their own community houses, the Indians on the northern part find little need for such buildings, being, as they are, too close to Harlem with all its excitement and activities.

Leaving Harlem on the United States highway, the Milk River is reached four and a half miles southeast. Here the reservation begins. The agency buildings are seen and to the southwest of the agency lies the new hospital of forty-five beds completed in 1931, the doctor's residence, the residence of the educational field agent, the club-house and the old boarding school buildings, now used for the forestry department, the extension agent, the relief office and the roads' office. A half-mile separates this branch of agency activities from the agency office proper. The residences of most of the agency employees are found to the rear of the agency building, with the warehouse to the east and the garage to the south.

The United States Highway passes in front of the agency and for twenty-four miles cuts across the northern portion of the reservation to Dodson. Forty per cent of the Indians of the reservation live on the irrigated section between the highway and Milk River. The Assiniboine form the majority of those living in this district. Leaving these roads and turning south to the main highway to Dodson, some well built frame homes are seen a few miles from Dodson, well within the reservation. These are the homes of white men married to Gros Ventre women. Here a small colony of Gros Ventre mixed bloods live, keeping themselves quite distinct from the other communities on the reser-

vation. Some live in Dodson; others, married to white men, live within the reservation. Dodson is the shopping point for this group. This town is composed of some two hundred and fifty odd individuals and consists of two beer-parlors, a drug store and a hospital, three grocery and general goods stores, two filling stations and a garage. Malta, twenty miles away, with its two thousand people, supplies the goods that cannot be bought at Dodson. At Malta, a few of the Indians living in the eastern part of the reservation send their children to high school. The grammar school at Dodson takes care of the elementary education of the children living in the northeastern portion of the reservation. Economically, this northeastern portion forms the well-to-do of the reservation. One-roomed log cabins give way here to four-roomed frame houses, well-painted on the outside, each possessing some flowers and a small patch of well-watered lawn.

Returning to the agency and taking the reservation road south to Hays, which is the Gros Ventre community of some five hundred individuals, the auto travels over mile after mile of rolling plains, used entirely for the grazing of cattle. There is a gradual lift in the plains as the Milk River valley is left behind, the altitude increasing from a little over two thousand feet to thirty-six hundred feet at Hays. About thirty-five miles south of the agency, some frame houses are seen. This is the sub-agency that houses the farmer, the doctor and the ditch-rider. An old flour mill, unused for years and a relic of the days when wheat-raising was encouraged is also part of the sub-agency block of buildings.

A little south of the sub-agency, the road forks, one section going to Lodge Pole, the Assiniboine community, eleven miles to the east, while the other going straight ahead leads to Hays, four miles south. The Little Rockies, well-timbered, are now seen rising from the plains.

The road going south from the agency represents the line that separates the Gros Ventre from the Assiniboine; the former living west of the road.

Hays is predominantly Gros Ventre. On this town site is found the new community hall, where many days labor had been volunteered in an attempt to rush this first of the community halls to completion. The building is rectangular and gable-roofed, with a large auditorium suitable for dances and basket-ball, and many small rooms, still to be partitioned off, for the use of the various social clubs. Hays had three large trading stores, two pool-halls, two restaurants and two rooming houses. Movies are shown here once a week by an enterprising white business man. Most of the frame homes of the reservation are seen here, having been built almost entirely by the Gros Ventre for themselves. The only whites living in town are those running the various of the town's businesses, for, as yet, no store has been run by any of the Gros Ventre. Hays is a compact community; with some five hundred individuals living within a radius of three miles.

One mile to the south, in the foot-hills of the Little Rockies, is the Saint Paul's Catholic Mission, with its three-floored gothic building, its chapel and its school. Unlike the Assiniboine, the Gros Ventre are predominantly Catholic. And also unlike the Assiniboine, many of the younger Gros Ventre displayed their degree of participation in the Roman Catholic church by being much aroused over the treatment accorded Catholics in Mexico and Germany.

A road south of the mission leads to the scenic Mission Canyon, but a half-mile away, and thence over the Little Rockies to the gold mining camps of Landusky, a relic of the nineties when gold was first discovered in the Little Rockies.

The road to Lodgepole skirts the northern part of the mountains, with the timbered slopes of the Little Rockies on one side and the rolling, coulee-creviced plains on the other. After a series of roller-coasting hills, the road suddenly brings the isolated Lodgepole trading store in view. Another hill and another bend and the small Catholic church of St. Thomas appears. Another bend in the road and the community of Lodgepole is seen. At first appearances, Lodgepole appears small, but the homes that surround the community appear more numerous the longer one stays in the community. The main part of Lodgepole appears on a short street running east to west. On the north side stands the newly completed frame dwelling built by the Emergency Conservation Works, supposedly for the forester. Next appears a one-storied log cabin, the original Lodgepole day school and at present the teacher's residence. The frame dwelling of the field nurse appears next and then the old school house, built in the form of a church with steeple and gable roof. To the rear of the old school house appears the new Lodgepole school, uncompleted in the summer of 1935. The street is now at an end, but across the street

appears the well-built log cabin of the policeman, the frame warehouse, the sub-agency, where the council occasionally meets, and two old steam threshing machines that have been unused for many years.

The log cabins of the Assiniboine are found within a radius of ten miles of Lodgepole. The cabins are scattered in the coulees that are hidden among the foot hills. Some sixty per cent of the Assiniboine on the reservation live in this vicinity; there being a little over three hundred individuals in the radius that is included in the Lodgepole district. The cabins stretch about three miles to the north, some ten miles to the east and about a mile and a half to the south. The cliffs of the Little Rockies are but two miles south of Lodgepole, the mountains rising one to three thousand feet above the foothills.

There are two trading stores at Lodgepole, though they are not to be seen on the street that forms Lodgepole proper. Both are stocked with groceries, meat, dry goods staples and the ever-present boxes of candy. Each week the proprietress of the main store goes to Havre and Malta to purchase the various incidentals that are needed by the Indians. The inside of both stores also form the meeting places for the Indians of the vicinity. For those coming from a distance of ten miles, buying weekly supplies takes time and two or three hours must be spent at one of the stores before the family is ready to return.

A small creek, the Lodgepole creek, runs through the town. Two pumps, of which only one is in working condition, are in use to furnish the water supply for the community. Drinking water is scarce on the reservation and families need to come to these pumps from once to twice a week to fill the family drinking barrels with water.

During the months of May, June, and the early part of July, heavy rains occur and at this time the plains take on a green park-like appearance. The rains cease from the middle of July on and soon the hills and the plains of the reservation take on a burnt brown color. The average rainfall for the reservation is about fifteen inches per year, but in the past few years drought conditions have prevailed. Thus in 1935 but eight inches fell and this mainly in the months from April to July. Insufficient rainfall and a high evaporation of moisture from the soil combine to make the reservation part of the semi-arid plains. The lack of sufficient rainfall was noticed during the summer of 1935 when one of the two pumps ran dry, due to lack of underground water; gardens were parched and the hills were bare, having been swept clean of its grass by the hot, dry winds that swept Lodgepole. Windows could not be opened, lest the floors be soon covered with a thick layer of dust.

The climatic extremes on the reservation range from an all-time low of fifty seven below zero in 1916 to an all-time high of 108 above in 1886. With the exception of the winter months, the seasons bring very pleasant days to the reservation. The transitional stage from winter to spring and from fall to winter is very sudden. After many days of sub-zero temperatures, dark clouds will suddenly appear in the west, the forerunner of a chinook with its dry warm winds. The temperature within a few hours will rise to about forty above, sometimes higher, and whatever snow still remains on the ground quickly disappears through evaporation. On the other hand, the temperature will be in the forties, the skies clear and a soft breeze blowing. Within a few hours a high wind will start in from the north and twenty-four hours later the temperature will have dropped to thirty below. Or, a light snow will fall and as soon as the clouds have moved southward, the winds will come in from the northwest forcing the temperature to drop within an hour.

The yearly average temperature for the vicinity around the reservation over a period of fifty-six years is 41.7 degrees. The average monthly temperatures, as recorded at the nearby government meteorological station at Havre can be used if the understanding is had that the weather on the reservation generally ranges a few degrees below that recorded at Havre. On the basis of averages extending over a period of fifty-six years the temperatures for the twelve months of the year are as follows:

January	12.9	degrees
February	13.7	"
March	27.1	"
April	43.7	"
May	55.4	"
June	62.0	"
July	68.3	"
August	65.4	"
September	56.4	"
October	44.5	"
November	31.2	"
December	20.4	"

During 1935 the monthly maximum and minimum temperatures ran as follows:

Month	Maximum	Minimum
January	49	-34

Month	Maximum	Minimum
February	54	- 2
March	69	-17
April	75	- 2
May	78	29
June	94	34
July	101	46
August	99	38
September	94	23
October	81	-12
November	61	-23
December	53	-21

A most unusual month, from the point of view of climatic extremes, existed during the month of February, 1936. The average temperature for the month was minus thirteen. The maximum temperature was forty above on the last day of the month, while the minimum was forty-seven below zero. There was not a single day when the minimum temperature was above zero, while for three weeks the temperature ranged from seventeen below zero to forty-seven below and for eighteen days the maximum temperature did not go above one below zero.

The mean relative humidity increases in the winter and decreases during the summer, averaging about 70 per cent during the winter months and about thirty-five during the summer. The summers are dry and hot; hot during the day time and cool at night, with the temperature at night always in the fifties. Thunderstorms are of infrequent occurrence and weeks will pass in which not a drop of rain will fall.

The summers are pleasant near the mountains, but at the Milk River and along the valley, where the Assiniboine live on their allotments of irrigated land, summer becomes physically uncomfortable, not only because of the higher temperatures prevailing there, but also on account of the mosquitoes. Walking is a difficult procedure, both day and night, since both arms must be used to sweep away the hordes of mosquitoes, coming from the Milk River and the irrigation canal, mosquitoes that make life miserable for the Indians and for the white employees that find it necessary to stay at the agency. Strangely enough, the mosquitoes are lacking at Harlem, but four and a half miles away. With the first cold nights of September, relief is had from the plaguing insects.

People's Creek, running through the middle of the reservation separates the winter chinook belt of Lodgepole and Hays, from the arctic zone of the Milk River valley. The temperatures in the southern end of the reservation are always lower in summer and higher in winter than the region to the north. The snows near the mountains are always removed by the frequent chinooks, making the lands there more suitable for winter grazing. Less hay needs to be consumed by the cattle in the southern half of the reservation due to this climatic difference.

Because of the distances separating the various Indian settlements on the reservation, automobiles are more of a necessity than a luxury. Consequently, any family that can afford a second-hand automobile will have one in order to reach friends and relatives living along the Milk River Valley, or to go to town to buy provisions, or to escape isolation and boredom by getting into the car and "going places." Travel by team, or horseback is long and tiresome and has a tendency to crowd Indians into settlements, instead of encouraging them to live on their allotments. The majority of Indians living around Lodgepole and Hays are there as a vestige of the old days when travel was difficult and it was necessary to be near relatives and friends for sociability's sake. With the coming of the automobile came the tendency to decentralize somewhat and to move to their cabins on their allotments, or to keep in touch with their land by means of a car. In the Lodgepole section, it seems to be customary for the Indians to have two cabins; one their Lodgepole cabin and the other their allotment cabin. Along the Milk River valley no community exists, with the result that each family living on its own allotment finds it necessary to travel to Harlem as often as possible, in order to participate in the pleasant activity of meeting friends and relatives there, to look in the store windows, or to loll around the street corners, watching the people go by.

A system of reservation roads has been developed in recent years that has been of considerable aid in shortening the distances between the various communities and the agency. Besides the national highway cutting across the northern part of the reservation, a network of gravelled and graded dirt roads extends from the agency to the various allotments along the irrigated section of the Milk River valley. A gravelled road runs from the agency to Hays, thirty-nine miles south. A dirt road runs from the Hays sub-agency to Lodgepole and from Lodgepole to Brookside, the post office for the southern end of the reservation. The other roads are mainly trails and are passable, except for a few hours after a thunder storm, when they become thick beds of clay gumbo. A good automobile can make the distances to Lodgepole and Hays in an hour and a half and an hour respectively. There is no

place on the reservation that is separated by more than two hours running time from any other place on the reservation.

Population

In aboriginal days the Assiniboine were one of the more important tribal groupings. Their population, previous to 1790 was estimated by Mooney as more than ten thousand. The factors contributing to the decline in population after 1780 were the small pox epidemic of 1780-1, the small pox epidemics of 1837-8, 1856 and 1871,and the malnutrition following the extinction of the buffalo in the winter of 1884.

The population of the eleven bands of Assiniboine in the first decade of the nineteenth century was estimated by Henry the Younger to have been around 850 tents, or, at eight persons to a tipi, about 6,800 individuals. If the thrity lodges of the Swampy-Ground Assiniboine were included, the sum total must have been around 7,200 individuals. "The 880 tents might produce about two thousand men capable of bearing arms. In the summer of 1809 a great body of Assiniboine assembled on the Missouri for war. When all their fire arms were collected and counted, the total was 1,100 guns(1)."

Lewis and Clark gave statistics on but three bands: the Canoe band, the Gens des Fils and the Gens des Grand Diable. All three they estimated to have about three thousand individuals, a figure that is incomplete in view of the number given by Henry (2). David Thompson, in the period about 1800, estimated their number to be around 3,200 individuals, an estimate that was obviously incomplete (3). Maximilian in 1832-4 gave the number of Assiniboine as 28,000, living in 3,000 tipis in the territory between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan and Lake Winnipeg and Milk River (4). This figure is much too large for the Assiniboine; their population at that time being no more than ten thousand.

Denig in 1853 estimated their population previous to 1837 to have been about ten thousand. Their population in 1853 he estimated to be about 2,340 (5). This figure did not include the Canadian Assiniboine who rarely came to trade at Fort Union, who may have numbered about two thousand in addition. Hayden in 1855 estimated the American Assiniboine at 2,080. The Canadian Assiniboine were estimated at 2,400, forming a total of over four thousand (6).

The population figures as given from 1872 to 1884 by the Annual Reports of the Indian Office are in the main unreliable, since ration tickets formed a poor index as to the number of Assiniboine living in American territory. Cree and Northern Assiniboine entered their names for ration tickets, as well as those Assiniboine band chiefs who exaggerated the number of their followers in order to receive more rations. The population figures for both Fort Peck and Fort Belknap are given until 1926:

Year	Fort Peck	Fort Belknap	Total Amer. Assiniboine
1872	----	----	4,790
1873	----	----	4,790
1874	1,998	2,700	4,698
1875	1,998	3,500	5,498
1876	1,998	-----	-----
1877	1,719	-----	-----
1878	1,615	885	2,050
1879	1,469	997	2,466
1880	1,430	935	2,365
1881	1,413	900	2,313
1882	1,300	850	2,150
1883	1,375	750	2,225
1884	1,195	1,000	2,195
1885	1,672	700	2,372
1886	894	794	1,688
1887	827	816	1,643
1888	713	830	1,543
1889	705	850	1,555
1890	721	950	1,671
1891	716	955	1,671
1892	701	859	1,560
1893	734	844	1,578
1894	710	782	1,492
1895	716	763	1,479
1896	699	687	1,386
1897	702	711	1,413
1898	660	716	1,376
1899	642	681	1,323
1900	619	694	1,313
1901	620	709	1,329
1902	575	710	1,285
1903	557	695	1,272
1904	535	699	1,234
1905	573	689	1,262
1906	579	669	1,248
1907	561	656	1,217
1908	605	645	1,250
1909	610	678	1,288
1910	654	696	1,350
1911	660	542	1,202

1. Coues, New Light etc. II, p. 523.
2. L. And C. VI, p. 104.
3. D. Thompson, p. 326.
4. Max. I, p. 387.
5. Denig, p. 431.
6. Hayden, p. 387.

Year	Fort Peck	Fort Belknap	Total Amer. Assiniboine
1916	640	639	1,279
1921	777	657	1,434
1926	840	581	1,421

It is interesting to note that a decline took place until 1911 for the total number of Assiniboine. Since then the total number have been increasing. The increase in the total is almost entirely due that registered by the Fort Peck Assiniboine. On Fort Belknap, the decline can be explained as due to many of the mixed Assiniboine and Gros Ventre calling themselves Gros Ventre, although their fathers were Assiniboine. The Gros Ventre, although outnumbered by the Assiniboine ten years ago, are now, according to the agency rolls, outnumbering the Assiniboine.

The census for 1935 listed 1,377 Indians as residing on the Fort Belknap reservation. These were listed as 455 Assiniboine, 430 Gros Ventre and 244 Assiniboine-Gros Ventre. These figures are open to a little doubt, since on the basis of the census rolls and including as Assiniboine all those whose fathers were Assiniboine, in the cases of Assiniboine-Gros Ventre marriages, I arrived at a total of 674 Assiniboine for the reservation. If these figures can be used as an index for the past twenty years, then the Assiniboine on Fort Belknap have been increasing, rather than decreasing. The full-bloods have, on the other hand, been decreasing rapidly. In 1920 the total number of Assiniboine full-bloods was 364 as against 283 mixed bloods. In 1935, there were 301 full-bloods, as against 373 mixed bloods.

It is interesting to group the full-bloods and the mixed bloods by ages in order to see what the trend represents for the future. On the basis of the number of mixed-blood children from one month to nine years there are a little over 187 of these as against 54 full-blood children of the same age, indicating the percentage of full-bloods in the next generation. The trend is indicative of the situation existing on the Blackfoot reservation nearby where but nine hundred of the four thousand on the census rolls are full-bloods.

The following data were collected of the various groupings among the Fort Belknap Assiniboine:

	Full-Blood	Three-Quarters	One-Half	Up to One-Half
Male	158	55	95	72
Female	143	57	58	56

On the basis of age these groups were classified as follows:

Full-Bloods	Males	Females
0-9	26	28
10-19	22	18
20-29	24	26
30-39	10	14
40-49	23	11
50-59	21	8
60-69	17	19
70-79	12	12
80-89	3	5
Total	158	143

¾ and more	Males	Females
0-9	27	28
10-19	10	14
20-29	6	5
30-39	4	4
40-49	2	3
50-59	1	0
60-69	3	1
70-79	2	0
Total	55	57

The predominance of individuals of three-quarter blood and more, under the age of twenty, is undoubtedly due to the many marriages that are now taking place between those of full-blood and those having one-half Indian blood. This process is gradually diluting the Indian blood on the reservation with white blood. It is difficult for a full-blood individual to intermarry with a white at present; there being but one marriage of that sort in recent times. The ideal of beauty is gradually approaching the ideals taken from white sources and half-blood girls are now in great demand by the full-blood men, with the possibility of this tendency growing in the future. The other groupings follow:

One-Half and more	Males	Females
0-9	29	24
10-19	25	13
20-29	11	5
30-39	10	7
40-49	9	5
50-59	9	2
60-69	2	2
Total	95	58

One-Quarter to One-Half Indian Blood	Males	Females
0-9	35	22
10-19	14	12
20-29	7	10
30-39	0	3
40-49	1	0
Total	57	47

One-Eighth to One-Quarter Indian Blood	Males	Females
0-9	15	7
10-19	0	2
Total	15	9

These figures are noteworthy inasmuch as they seem to show that most of the mixed marriages between Indians and whites have taken place in the last twenty years. Many of the individuals in the half-blood category are a result of marriages where both parents are of half-blood. Those in this category over the age of thirty are children of white cattlemen and full-blood Indian women. The individuals in the category of one-quarter to one-half Indian blood are of families where one parent is half-Assiniboine and the other white. Those in the category of of one-eighth blood and more compose the new fourth generation of Assiniboine-white contact on the Fort Belknap reservation. It is interesting to note here that none of these are above the age of fifteen. These are the products of marriages between those of one-quarter blood and whites. There are none having less than one-eighth Indian blood, since these are the future fifth generation, soon to appear. This contact between the Fort Belknap Assiniboine and whites is but recent in time, yet it seems to be gradually expressing itself in growing numbers.

There are more white men married to Gros Ventre than to Assiniboine women. There is but one instance of a white man married to a full-blood Assiniboine girl. The tendency seems to be for whites to marry women of one half blood, or less, with full-blood men marrying half-blood women and leaving the full-blood girls, unless exceptionally pretty, as unwanted. The number of white men married to either Assiniboine or Gros Ventre women follows:

Degree of Blood	Age of Wife	No. of Children	Where Located
¼Gros Ventre	32	1	Hollywood, Calif.
½Gros Ventre	44	10	Reservation
Full Assiniboine	21	1	Reservation
½ Assiniboine	48	7	Reservation
½ Gros Ventre	29	2	Reservation
¼ Gros Ventre	20	1	Reservation
¼Assiniboine	28	4	Reservation
¼Assiniboine	25	None	Harlem, Mont.
1/8 Gros Ventre	31	1	Great Falls, Mont.
½ Assiniboine	50	2	Salt Lake City
¼ Gros Ventre	38	7	Savoy, Mont.
1/8 Gros Ventre	25	3	Fairfield, Mont.
½ Gros Ventre	25	3	Reservation
¼ Assiniboine	23	1	Cut Bank, Mont.
½ Assiniboine	36	2	Great Falls, Mont.
½ Gros Ventre	22	3	Reservation
3/8 Gros Ventre	41	1	Chemawa, Oregon
½ Gros Ventre	19	1	Portland, Oregon
¼ Gros Ventre	33	None	Great Falls, Mont.
½ Gros Ventre	63	None	Dodson, Mont.
¼ Gros Ventre	40	2	Reservation
¼ Gros Ventre	34	None	Telegraph Creek, Mont.
½ Gros Ventre	30	None	Harlem, Mont.
¼ Gros Ventre	32	1	Portland, Oregon
¼ Assiniboine	25	1	Reservation
½ Gros Ventre	43	1	Great Falls, Mont.
¼ Gros Ventre	28	None	Zortman, Mont.

The predominance of white men married to Gros Ventre women, as against Assiniboine women, may be due to the proximity of the Gros Ventre community of Hays to the gold mining camps of Landusky and Zortman and to the greater amount of aggressiveness in the Gros Ventre women. It was also my feeling that the Gros Ventre were more acculturated to white patterns than the Assiniboine. The Gros Ventre are more fervent Catholics and have had a longer contact with whites, with the result that there are more Gros Ventre mixed bloods than Assiniboine mixed bloods. The Gros Ventre have lost their Sun Dance; the Assiniboine still perform theirs. More vestiges of aboriginal culture remain among the Assiniboine than among the Gros Ventre. Moccasins and braids, as examples, are more commonly seen among the Assiniboine old, than among the old people of the Gros Ventre.

With the exception of the white man married to the Assiniboine full-blood, all of the whites mentioned as married to the women given in the table are industrious and of fair

status in their own community. Where they live on the reservation, they either own their own businesses, or else are fairly well off in stock, the land either being leased, or in their wives' names.

The number of Indian men married to white women now follows. These are fewer in number and are, with but one exception, men who in education or in wealth would be considered as of fair status. As in the case of the women given in the table above, the degree of blood and age of husband are given:

Degree of Blood	Age of Husband	No. of Children	Where Located
½ Assiniboine	28	2	Fort Hall, Idaho
¼ Assiniboine	49	5	Reservation
¼ Assiniboine	25	4	Reservation
3/8 Gros Ventre	37	6	Reservation
½ Assiniboine	26	2	Reservation
½ Assiniboine	44	4	Reservation
½ Assiniboine	36	3	Reservation
¼ Gros Ventre	45	None	Bank Employee, Helena
¼ Gros Ventre	43	2	Postmaster, Harlem
¼ Gros Ventre	54	None	Reservation
¼ Gros Ventre	40	3	Reservation
½ Assiniboine	40	None	Umatilla Agency
¼ Gros Ventre	38	3	Reservation

Three of the Assiniboine listed above married white women due to the insistence of their father, a white man. The latter encouraged his sons to adopt as many of the white patterns as possible, even to marriage with white women, in order that the grandchildren be white, rather than Indian. The father of these men was disliked by the Assiniboine, since they felt that such behavior connoted dislike of the Indian. These men are far above the average in ability and their stock holdings are the largest on the reservation. One of the brothers, married to a Seneca woman, is considered by many to be the most intelligent and the most able clerk at the agency.

Of the others listed, one is boy's advisor at one of the Indian Service boarding schools. Another is an automobile mechanic, white in appearance and attitudes. Another, a Gros Ventre, has a well-paying position in a large bank in Helena. His brother who is postmaster at Harlem has large holdings in sheep on his ranch north of the reservation. Another Assiniboine is clerk at an Oregon Indian Agency. One, a Gros Ventre, married a Jewish girl in New York City, upon his return from France. The latter has adjusted herself well to the culture of her husband. At the last Sun-Dance, she lived in a tent with her many children in the camp circle.

The wish of many returned mixed-blood students is to marry white girls, due to the higher status of the latter. This is especially true of students returned from Haskell. Mixed-blood Indian girls are looked upon as a poor second choice.

Economic Organization

Economic possibilities have not been of the best on the reservation. Various experiments were made in the past to make farming possible on the reservation; these failed because of the character of the country and the severe and dry climate. Alfalfa and natural hay have always been grown on the reservation and in normal times over one hundred thousand dollars have been received from the sale of these products. From 1905 onward, various attempts were made to have nearby ranches employ the younger Indians, not only as a means of support, but also to train the younger men to take care of cattle and horses and to learn proper means of feeding stock. It was unfortunate that attempts were made to have the Indians rid themselves of their stock, in order to take on farming, since it soon became apparent that stock formed the only means of livelihood for most of the Indians. There were few jobs on the outside for them to work on. There were little opportunities for returned students with trades to practice them on the reservation. And not enough positions were had around the agency to supply with work all who applied. Actually, many of the younger men left the reservation from 1910 onwards, in order to find work on the outside. These would have remained on the outside, except for the allotment act of 1921, which encouraged them to return in order to receive land to which they were entitled. At the same time, many returned feeling that with the allotments they would be aided by the government to become better off economically.

Until 1932, certain funds could be gained from trapping various fur-bearing animals for their pelts, and coyotes for the bounties paid by the

state of Montana. About one hundred Indians engaged in trapping as a part-time activity, with an average income of one hundred dollars per year received as a result of this work. From 1932 on, game became scarce due to over-hunting. As a consequence, trapping was dropped as a source of income. Earned income from outside sources amounted to five thousand dollars during the year 1934, showing the amount of work available with outside white ranches and firms for Indians living on the reservation. Some of the income was gained from working as laborers, topping beets, in the irrigated section west of the reservation. The work was mainly seasonal and an individual could not hope to earn more than a hundred dollars for thirty days work. The wages paid ran from two dollars and fifty cents to three dollars per day; board not being included. The work was difficult and there was keen competition from transient Mexican families. During the fall of 1935,but five families from the reservation engaged in this work and this for but ten days, in order to receive some money to tide them over the winter.

For the past ten years the number of cattle on the reservation has been increasing. This increase has been mainly due to the efforts of the Indians themselves. A number of families had refused to give up their cattle during the trying years of agricultural experimentation; these,adding to their herds instead, became the most prosperous of the families on the reservation. Stock increased from two thousand head in 1920 to over five thousand in 1933. With the encouragement of the extension department and the increased desire of the families on the reservation to own stock, cattle increased to over seven thousand head in 1934 and a little over eight thousand in 1935. There were about two thousand horses in 1935, about a thousand sheep and almost two thousand chickens. These formed the basis for the economic rehabilitation of the reservation.

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A twenty-five thousand dollar reimbursable fund was established by Congress in 1910 for the Fort Belknap reservation. The fund was revolving and not more than six hundred dollars could be borrowed by any single individual. Theoretically, the payments were to be made within three years, although actually few could pay off their debts in that short length of time. The result was that much of the reimbursable funds were tied up in frozen assets, since much of the money went towards homes and other non-income producing projects, rather than towards cattle and other productive enterprises. Various machinery were also sold to the Indians through reimbursable agreement, outside the regular reimbursable fund. At the present time there are few Indians who are not in debt to the government to the sum of two hundred dollars and more.

The average family annual income now (in 1935) is far less than two hundred dollars, this including the the garden products grown by the individuals for their own consumption. The highest incomes received by individuals on the Fort Belknap reservation for 1934 was that of three thousand dollars for one in the cattle business; two thousand dollars by another working at the agency and seventeen hundred dollars received by another employee. A partial list of some of the more representative incomes received by the Assiniboine individuals follows. Both their incomes for 1934 and their total reimbursable debts are listed:

Name	Age	Income	Debt
Attacks	73	$210.70	None
C. Bear	51	345.00	$305.62
F. Bear	53	264.00	470.00
Bill Berry	62	920.00	484.00
Bill Bigby	55	564.00	617.00
M. Blue Horse	25	250.00	138.00
W. Buck	41	545.00	500.00
A. Gray	23	411.00*	326.00
D. Hawley	52	950.00	106.00
Horn Weasel	81	60.00	36.00
R. King	45	1740.00	200.00
E. Kirkaldie	40	1400.00	400.00
J. Kirkaldie	46	1951.00	130.00
R. Kirkaldie	43	3130.00	828.00
Leo Fox	27	774.00	487.00
F. McConnell	43	930.00	15.00
S. Firstshoot	53	637.00	388.00
H. Fish	41	969.00*	458.00
G. Flack	25	500.00	None
A. Foot	48	932.00*	10.00
M. Campbell	54	1000.00	598.00
A. Dubois	51	320.00	146.00
M. McMeel	41	819.00	300.00
Medicine Boy	63	155.00	566.00
F. Ohlerking	32	900.00*	604.00
W. Snell	31	962.00*	291.00
Spirit Boy	62	200.00	200.00
Joe Tucker	48	600.00*	400.00
Paul Two Kill	66	650.00	315.00
J. Walkslow	53	515.00	644.00
R. Wing	47	1046.00*	None
R. Young	48	329.00	70.00
Yellow Owl	49	154.00	58.00
W. Crasco	49	1600.00*	702.00

*Emergency Project Income.

Some of the above income is derived from land leases, while most of it comes from the sale of stock, or in the case of the younger people from work on emergency projects.

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In the allotment of land in 1921, 520 acres of grazing land, or 360 acres of grazing land and forty acres of irrigated land were allotted to each individual on the rolls at that time. Leasing of land is through power of attorney on the unit system(1). The price paid per acre ran from ten to twelve cents per acre during the year 1935. Thus on an allotment of 520 acres, leased for grazing, an income of 52 to 64 dollars could be received.

To take some random examples, August Moccasin, an Assiniboine full-blood, received $591 as his income in 1934. This was made up as follows: $30 was received from Emergency Relief Work; $28.80 from land leases; $429.27 from sale of live-stock and $103 as the market value of the garden products grown. His total holdings in cattle in 1935 were fifteen head, a drop of twelve head from the year before.

Frank Bear, a full-blood of forty-eight, lived ten miles east of Lodgepole. Frank owned 1571 acres of land, both allotted and inherited. He received over $110 from leasing most of this land. His wife, owning the same amount of land received about $100 in lease money. The market value of his garden products amounted to a little over $150, giving the family an estimated income of about $350. Frank owned 15 head of cattle, 10 horses, 25 chickens, a milk cow and five turkeys. In good years the only food products he needed to buy were flour, baking powder, lard, sugar, tea and coffee.

Incomes were a little higher before 1929. Simon Firstshoot, my interpreter, used to receive four dollars and a half a day during the harvest season driving a beet plow and milking six cows. He received two hundred dollars for this type of work during the season. The rest of his income was had in acting as interpreter, driving cattle to the railroad for two dollars a day and from the sale of stock. In 1935 he had sixty head of cattle, fifteen head of horses and about ten chickens. In most years he was able to grow most of his garden produce. During the past two years, he has been unable to grow all of his vegetables, due to drought and grasshoppers. During the past year he lost twenty-three head of cattle due to the severity and length of the winter.

Despite the amount of cattle owned, Simon was hesitant about getting a permit in order to slaughter one of his beef. Since he was anxious to build up his herd, he used rabbits, chickens, ducks and venison for meat, whenever he could get them. The increase in Simon's herd came from cattle shipped in during the winter of 1925, for which he must pay in 1938 one calf for each cow.

Tommy Cliff, a full-blood Assiniboine of 26 from Lodgepole was married to a woman eight years older than he. There were nine in the family, four of the children being Mrs. Cliff's by her first husband, three being his own children by his present wife. Tommy went to the fifth grade at Chemawa, Oregon and left when he was twenty years old. Olivia, his wife, finished the fifth grade at the age of fifteen at the old Fort Belknap boarding school, the highest grade in the school at that time.

During 1934, Tommy left his E.C.W. job because he was unable to make ends meet. He earned forty dollars a month on this job and he had to board himself on the outside, since the work was away from Lodgepole. Thus, his forty dollars had to be divided between his board and the needs of his family. It was soon apparent that twenty dollars per month was not enough to support a family of eight and so Tommy left his work to see what he could find to work at near his home. He made forty dollars trapping coyotes for the state, at four dollars a head. He slaughtered six beef cattle during the winter of 1934-5 and that along with a cellarful of potatoes and three hundred quarts of canned vegetables were enough to keep his family from starving. All that he bought at the Lodgepole store were flour, tea, coffee, and sugar. The garden that he raised was more than successful in 1934.

During May and June of 1935, Tommy found work as a laborer on the new Lodgepole school house. He had sixteen days work in May and nine days in June at a rate of $2.40 per day. In July he worked along the river, helping put up hay. He worked eighteen days at this and received four dollars a day. In an attempt to provide some food for his family, he planted a garden in June. He put three sacks of potatoes in the ground, along with two acres of corn, tomatoes and peas. Grasshoppers started appearing in

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1. Under the unit system the Indian lands to be leased are divided into twenty-four units. A unit cannot be subdivided for leasing purposes, but must be leased as a whole.

numbers in the early part of July and by August fifteenth his garden developed into a total loss. This failure made him feel despondent since it was too late to put in another garden. As a consequence, he was much worried over the food situation for the coming winter. Although Tommy's cattle amounted to but thirty-three head he was compelled to sell seven head of cattle during the last week in August. He expected to receive from two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars for this sale. His debts were increasing. He owed one hundred and sixty dollars to Mrs. Sausman, the proprietress of the Lodgepole grocery store and five hundred and nineteen dollars to the government for material received on the reimbursable plan. One third of his cattle check was to be taken by the agency to help pay part of this reimbursable debt, leaving about two hundred dollars to be used for his other debts and to support the family during the coming winter. During the winter of 1934 he received eleven head of "grades" from the FERA issue of cattle, but he lost them all, due to their poor condition upon arrival. He had forty-six head of cattle during January, 1935, but due to the exceptional winter he lost thirteen head. Thus far he has been able to raise only eighteen tons of hay on his forty acres of irrigable land at Lodgepole. It seemed highly doubtful that the eighteen tons would suffice to feed twenty-six head of cattle over a long and severe winter, yet Tommy was neither in a position to grow more hay nor to purchase additional feed for his stock.

The Cliff cabin was about a half-mile from the center of Lodgepole. Its distinguishing feature being a shingled roof, although the shingles were well on the point of being next to useless, during a visit in a rainstorm, little puddles of water were found on the beds. The cabin was a one-room affair, with four windows, two minus the glass. Tommy was anxious to repair the roof and the windows, but due to the need for conserving his money, he found it impossible to buy lumber and windowpanes. The interior was furnished with three cast-iron bedsteads, two chairs, two benches, a stove, a table and a sideboard. The walls were the outside logs, although both the ceiling and the floor were made of rough pine boards.

The school children in the family received shoes and overalls from the Montana Relief Commission. The oldest girl clothed herself through the fifty-two dollars a year she received from the leasing of her land. The same amount of money was received by Mrs. Cliff, who used her money to buy clothes for the children not going to school. Tommy paid lease money for his cattle in the Lodgepole Stock Association so that the income he received from the leasing of his land went to pay for the fees on his cattle.

Another case was that of Ira Talks-Different, a full-blood Assiniboine of forty-seven. He has a family of four. Ira lived in Lodgepole proper in a two-room log cabin, having an earth roof, but board floors, The interior was made slightly attractive by draping cloth over the log walls. A sewing machine and calendar pictures of saints were additions to the usual stock of furnishings.

Ira has worked as a carpenter's helper, a painter's helper and a laborer. His schooling was limited to four years at the old Belknap boarding school during the turn of the century. His story of his economic condition follows:

> "Last year, I worked most of the year on E.C.W. reservoir work. I used my own team and I got three dollars and seventy cents a day. Last fall they had no team work, so they put me on a road project at Beaver Creek (the southeastern part of the reservation). I put in two weeks on that and about the middle of the month, a government stock count took place, so they hired me as one of their riders. I got two dollars a day and board as a rider. Soon Chapple Brothers, the horse outfit, sent three men over for my wife to board and we got a dollar a day from each man. That made five dollars a day for my work and for boarding those men. Well, I soon got finished with my work as a rider and went back to E.C.W. Bill Crasco, the E.C.W. foreman got sore because I laid off to go on the government roundup. He wanted to keep me down to two dollars a day. Bill said, 'All these men that look for higher jobs and won't work, I'll scratch their names off my list.' He said this to a crowd of men and I knew damn well he meant me. I got sore and I said, 'Bill, you can scratch my name off right now. I can always manage to work for my board and room if the E.C.W. won't take care of me. I don't have to depend on nobody.'
>
> "My grocery bill amounts to almost $40 a month. Prices are scarce up here. There are six in my family and that's just what I am getting by with. Now during August, do you know what my bill at Spark's amounted to? Thirty-six dollars and a half. And there wasn't enough food to make any of us fat. Besides, I had to sell a horse to buy

ten dollars worth of grub at Harlem.

"Every Saturday, on E.C.W., you have to cut your grub in two; one-half for your family and one-half for you on the job. A man can't take his family along and he can't leave them behind because there isn't enough for them to live on. The reimbursable loans allow each head of a family $600. Now, what can you do with $600? Even if a fellow had no reimbursable debts and wanted to start out on his place, he'd need about fifteen hundred dollars as a start to put himself on his feet. What could a white man do with that money in this country, even if he had his own land, to make himself independent? Instead of them having us waste our time working just for board on E.C.W., why don't they give us fifteen hundred dollars as a loan and tell us to stay on our place, buy stock and fix up our place. I've got too much pride to want any of their board money. I want to fix my own place up and work for myself."

Ira's economic resources consisted of fourteen head of cattle and seven range horses. His lease money went to pay for his association fees. Due to the grasshoppers, he was unable to raise a garden during the summers of 1934 and 1935, this necessitating the buying of all of his food at the Lodgepole stores.

Joe Tucker, another resident of Lodgepole, is our next example. Joe, a half-blood Assiniboine, about forty-five years of age, was married to a woman, half-Negro and half-Assiniboine. Joe had twelve children, eleven being at home and one at Flandreau, South Dakota. In order to compensate for the discrimination accorded them because of their Negro blood by the other Assiniboine, the family has become one of the most industrious at Lodgepole.

Joe's log cabin was composed of three rooms, fairly near the center of Lodgepole. It was clean, although badly overcrowded with beds, which left but little room for other furniture. Meals needed to be taken in the combination bed-room and kitchen, causing a condition that made it difficult to keep the rooms clean and sanitary. Guests sat on the beds, since chairs were insufficient to seat both the family and the guests. As an example of the idealized feeling of what homes should be, Joe felt ashamed to have me visit his home, since, as he expressed it, I had seen many fine white homes and his home would appear contemptible in comparison.

Mrs. Tucker received about fifteen dollars a month preparing the school lunches at Lodgepole while Joe worked for E.C.W. at $45 a month. The oldest boy worked during the summer to earn some money for expenses at Flandreau. The girls did my laundry for me and cleaned my log cabin once a week. The economic resources of the family are the various allotments of land, forty head of beef cattle, one milk cow and an assortment of chickens.

Due to the failure of his garden last year, Joe was compelled to buy all of his food at the Lodgepole groceries. And because of the high prices prevailing at Lodgepole and the standard of living, nearly forty-five dollars a month were spent for food. Although all of Joe's children were decently and cleanly clothed, Joe felt that his children should be dressed according to white standards. The money to clothe the children came from the lease checks and from what little money could be spared from Joe's monthly wage check.

Joe had been discouraged for some time because his work on E.C.W. was preventing him from properly taking care of his cattle and building up his ranch. He was firmly convinced that his work on E.C.W. was only giving him a bare livelihood and that after this type of relief was over, he would still be in a position where he would need to be aided. In considering his own situation, his feeling was that there was but one way in which he could be helped to become economically self-supporting; that being to give him a loan of forty-five dollars per month for ten or twelve months, so that he could get on his land allotment to build fences, do his own plowing, cut his own hay, brand his stock and take good care to see that his cattle were properly managed. He had estimated the amount of money that would be necessary, as a minimum sum to get him started. He needed about three hundred dollars to fence in one hundred and sixty acres of his land, about five hundred dollars to build himself a livable log cabin and about five hundred dollars to buy some heifers to increase his cattle herd. But six hundred dollars were allowed each head of a family on the basis of reimbursable loans, with the money to be paid back within three years. Joe had borrowed from this fund and had found the money insufficient to give him enough working capital.

The long winter of 1935 and the ensuing loss of cattle due to lack of hay had started Joe to think of ways and means whereby, not only he, but all the other cattle owners of Lodge-

pole could increase their hay supply for winter feeding. Under ordinary conditions one ton of hay was sufficient to carry a cow or a "dogie" steer throughout the winter. The ton of hay is computed on a basis of fifty pounds of hay for forty days of winter weather, when too much snow lay on the ground for range feeding. During the winter mentioned, Joe had less than fifty tons of hay for his sixty head of cattle. In desperation, Joe turned to the FERA to obtain hay. He was refused aid, since he was working with E.C.W., and twenty head of cattle were lost as a consequence. Joe's ideas concerning possible increases of hay growing land around Lodgepole follow:

> "Every bit of our land ought to be surveyed to find out where dams could be built to store water for irrigation. Now there are lots of places that could be dammed to take care of fifteen or twenty acres. There isn't a coulee on a man's place that couldn't be dammed to irrigate anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five acres. Take that place north of Wiegan's, or Birch's place. There's over a thousand acres there. No one is living on it. That place could be set aside as a community project. Plow it up good. It gets a good irrigation at least once a year from the coulee overflow. It's my bet that enough hay could be made to grow there to take care of over a hundred head of cattle for every family in this district. It has a large drainage, the largest drainage around here. Wiegan had a dam put up on his place. He gets the benefit of the rain water. He uses it to irrigate the whole flat and he grows blue joint hay on that three hundred acres of his. I wish that we could get together to do something about it."

Joe, along with many others on the reservation, was keenly interested in raising the reservation standard of living. During the time that I spent on the reservation, most of the talk was "shop," such as cattle, ways and means of making money and the various emergency projects put up on the reservation. This interest in the economic means existent on the reservation is recent in time and is primarily due to the feeling of inferiority that the men under forty-five, both full-bloods and half-bloods are beginning to feel. The abuse and discourtesy that they receive in Harlem and from the whites living around the reservation have made them feel that they are treated such because of their cultural characteristics which must be changed. Much of this feeling was received in the attendance at schools. And unlike some other reservations, tourists have not appeared on the reservation to romanticise the aboriginal remnants of culture. Movies, magazines and recent contact with whites living on the reservation have made many feel that the aboriginal culture of their fathers was inferior and "savage" when compared with the culture held by whites. Another factor needs to be added in Joe's case: being married to a woman who is half-Negro, he has been made very sensitive by continuous remarks concerning the Negro blood existing both in his wife and in his children. In an attempt to arrive at some outlet for this resentment and at the same time feel an integral and respected part of the community, he has put all of his energies and faith in attempting to build himself up economically, since being economically independent is accepted as part of status:

> "Sure, I feel resentful. I don't want to be discouraged and to be made to feel that I can't amount to something. There isn't a single Indian here who wouldn't like to be put on his feet, so that he could hold up his head with the rest of the outside world, to have pride and dignity. We are continuously in debt to the government. The life we lead is a humdrum type of existence, just working for our food. We never have any money for any of the decencies of life. In my nineteen years of married life, I have never been able to take my whole family to the circus, because of lack of money; just one or two of us can go. You might as well know right now that we Indians are very sensitive and our pride is hurt very much by things that wouldn't touch the whites. We find it hard to keep our pride up when we have to take abuse. Instead of striking back, we pull in within ourselves and walk off."

Stock Associations

Various attempts have been made by the agency in recent years to better the care of Indian owned cattle and to teach the owners of cattle better means of utilizing their acreage in order to get the best yields of hay. Previous to 1933, buyers would come on the reservation to purchase Indian cattle and horses, and due to the fact that no means existed to weigh cattle nor data made available to inform the owners of the market value of their stock, prices were generally far below that which they should have received. In most cases, four to five dollars per head were lost in these transactions. Starting from 1933 on, cattle were gathered

at a central point and bids from outside buyers solicited. Preparations were also made for shipment in case the bids received proved unacceptable. With the growth of stock associations in 1934 and 1935, cattle were shipped by associations and cooperatively.

The first stock association was formed at Lodgepole in 1931. There were two reasons given for forming such an association. One was the need to prevent outside sheep from grazing on the reservation and the other was the necessity to get spring and summer ranges for the cattle without overgrazing. The model for the association was the stock association formed but a few years before by the cattle men on the Fort Hall reservation. Thirty-five sections of land near Lodgepole were fenced in, and the members pooled their cattle under a range rider, to utilize the association lands for spring and summer pasture. In winter time, each member took care of his own cattle, sheltering them against storms and feeding them from his own reserve supply of hay. Each association marketed its own cattle and was governed by elected officers. In order to make the association a paying one, each member contributed two dollars and a half per year for each head of cattle grazing in association ranges, besides ten cents per acre as a grazing fee, amounting to an average of two dollars yearly on the basis of twenty acres for each head. A bull fee was also charged for those who ran no bulls with their cattle. Roundups were engaged in by all the members, who also branded their own calves.

In 1934 but two stock associations existed on the reservation: the Lodgepole association and the Milk River Association, both using but forty-five thousand of the five hundred thousand odd acres existing on the reservation. During 1935, four new associations were formed and over two hundred and seventy-eight thousand acres of grazing land were utilized for their cattle. The associations existing in the summer of 1935 included the Lodgepole, the Hays, the Big Warm, the Snake Butte and the People's Creek associations. In acreage, Hays was largest with seventy thousand acres, Lodgepole and Milk River came next with about sixty-five thousand acres each, People's Creek with twenty-eight thousand acres, Snake Butte with almost seventeen thousand acres and Big Warm with fourteen thousand. From the point of view of average number of cattle, Lodgepole had more than any of the other associations. Along the Milk River, irrigated farms took the place of cattle and horses; but in Lodgepole there was little else but grazing land for cattle and horses. Lands have now been leased for three years to these associations and at the present time, fully half of the grazing land of the reservation is being used by them.

As the reservation lands are being used for association grazing, less land is being leased to outsiders. During 1934, over eighty-two thousand dollars were received from outside concerns; the most famous being the Matador Land and Cattle Company, which grazed, on an average, some ten thousand head of cattle on the lands between the Milk River and the communities near the mountains. During 1934, the various stock associations paid over twenty-eight thousand dollars for rental of their grazing lands. The rate per acre has averaged from ten to fifteen cents an acre per year, depending upon the condition of the range and the price received for cattle in the various markets. Since most of the allotted land could be leased by the agency under power of attorney from the Indians, little difficulty was had in influencing the owners of the land to lease to themselves, rather than to outsiders. As the reservation is worked at present, the total carrying capacity of the twenty-four units of grazing land has been computed at about fifteen thousand cattle, thirty thousand sheep and about one thousand horses, showing that the Indians on the Fort Belknap reservation have about reached half their maximum in the number of animals that can be taken care of on the reservation, without overgrazing.

Standard of Living

On the basis of an average individual income of three hundred dollars per year, which would make a family income of about twelve hundred dollars, it has been estimated that the total income of the reservation would need to be almost doubled; there being a deficiency of about one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, out of a possible four hundred thousand dollars.

In order to arrive at a decent standard of living for each of the three hundred families on the reservation, that is, an income of about twelve hundred dollars per family, it would be necessary for each family to reserve ten acres of land for a garden and grain crops sufficient to care for milk cows, hogs, chickens and other fowl. Twenty-three thousand acres of agricultural land on the reservation would be needed for the production of hay. But since one ton of hay is necessary for each head of stock and thirty thousand cattle

are necessary to give each family one hundred head of cattle, it is seen that twenty-three thousand tons of hay, on the basis of one ton of hay per acre, would still make a deficiency of seven thousand tons to be bought from the outside. At the same time, computing, as the foresters do, that thirty acres of land are necessary for each head in order to prevent overgrazing, it is seen that nine hundred thousand acres are needed for thirty thousand head of cattle. At the present time, there is only a little over five hundred and fifty thousand acres available, for grazing purposes. It is thus seen that the Indians on the Belknap reservation have almost reached their maximum economic development and that little more can be done unless land is added to their reservation. More land may be made available for hay through the Chain of Lakes irrigation project, which would increase the amount of irrigated land on the northern part of the reservation, or else different crops may be grown on the irrigated portions of the reservation, leaving the stock to those living away from the irrigated Milk River valley.

In assessing the economic possibilities of the reservation, the number of cattle held by the individual families needs to be considered. At Lodgepole, some fifty individuals were enrolled in the Lodgepole Stock Association. These fifty individuals owned some fifteen hundred odd head of cattle, averaging about thirty-one head of cattle, each, and four head of horses. These cattle did not include all the cattle owned in the Lodgepole district, since many ran their individual cattle on their own ranges and did not bother to run them with the association cattle. Yet, in the main, the vast majority of Lodgepole-owned cattle were run in association pastures. For the reservation as a whole, two hundred and thirty-one individuals in seven stock associations owned, in March, 1935, six thousand five hundred and seventeen head of cattle, averaging about twenty-eight apiece. The highest averages were in the Lodgepole District with about thirty-one head of cattle for each association member; the lowest being along the Milk River with about eighteen head for each stock member.

In considering the possibilities in cattle, estimates by cattlemen assume that one hundred head of cattle for each individual family head is the minimum for a meager standard of living within the border of decency. One hundred head assumes that the family does not need to purchase hay for cattle and that the family grows its own food for its sustenance. Assuming that the calf crop, estimated at sixty per cent, will be sold in the fall and that the heifers will be kept, the family can expect to receive about $1200 for their sale, yet if the expense of hay is considered and the time and labor consumed in growing the crop, along with the possibilities of sale of hay, were there no cattle to feed, it is seen that the twelve hundred dollars does not mean that much as profit, but rather a fraction of this sum, generally about three hundred dollars. As an example of what is meant, it can be assumed that one hundred head of cattle will consume about two hundred tons of hay during the winter months. Two hundred tons of hay if sold in the fall at $10 per ton will bring in about $2000; if sold in the spring the amount of $3000 can be realized. Yet, in feeding this hay to the cattle, money is spent for which there can be no immediate return. As a result, many of the families living along the Milk River Valley are more anxious to sell their hay grown on their irrigated plots to outsiders, rather than keep it for feeding cattle. Cattle in themselves are the best economic resource of the reservation, yet, being a good economic resource does not assume that they can be the means for establishing a high standard of living in a reservation badly restricted for land and in an economy where the amount of money to be gained from cattle is small when compared with the expense of raising them. In the days of the free and open public range, when thousands of cattle could be run together without the expense of growing hay, cattle were profitable, since their expense was small and whatever was realized from their sale was mostly profit. At the present day, money can be made from cattle but by no means at the rate that prevailed until 1919. Stock ranches at present are profitable only when run on a large scale and not when run on an individual basis of thirty head with individual winter ranges.

However, during many winters one ton of hay is far from sufficient for feeding a head of cattle. At the same time a severe spring blizzard can wipe out all of a man's stock holdings, a common enough phenomenon in the northern plains. The estimate of thirty acres per head of cattle represents a conservative figure, since little grass can grow over acreage that has been ravaged by grasshoppers and drought. In the summer of 1935, the entire eastern part of the reservation had more of a desert-like appearance, than that of the grassy great plains of normal years. Gardens took on a parched and eaten-

out appearance after the hot winds and the grasshoppers had taken their toll. Estimates for reservations most times take on the appearance of minimum requirements, rather than actual normal needs, spread over a period of years. The United States Department of Agriculture estimates over two thousand acres of land for fifty head of cattle in this part of the semi-arid plains, with a capital investment of ten thousand dollars for buildings, fencing and surplus to take care of cattle(1). For one hundred head of cattle, with land for hay and grain besides, at least three thousand acres are needed. Yet, the Indian on the Belknap reservation is expected to become economically independent with five hundred and twenty acres of grazing land, or three hundred and sixty acres of grazing land and forty acres of irrigated or irrigable land and an actual capital investment, in terms of credit, of but six hundred dollars in reimbursable loans. In cattle issuance, but ten head of cattle are given to each allottee and with the absence of jobs on the reservation during the herd formation, it can be seen how difficult it is to grow hay and buy oil cake for the cattle, with little returns possible for five or ten years. More credit, as well as land, will be available through the Reorganization Act but not in amounts sufficient to take care of these needs.

With the small amount of money available to make the Indian on the Fort Belknap reservation economically independent, it is not at all surprising that the attitude of most should be, "There's nothing that I can do to get ahead. I can't buy cattle with nothing and I can't build up my herd if I have to sell some of my horses and cattle each year in order to live." The coming of cattle on the reservation acted as a spurt to reservation enthusiasm. The Reorganization Act and the issuance of drought cattle kept this enthusiasm at a high level and if money is available to enable them to forge ahead slowly and economically, the demoralizing atmosphere of the twenties will soon disappear and with it most of the emotional complaints. If not, efforts of the past ten years will have been in vain and, in order to be penny-wise, agencies will eventually discover that they have been dollar-foolish.

Economic Summary

Economically, nothing remains of the aboriginal culture. Little hunting is engaged in. There are no gathering of roots. Berries are collected in summer time, near the mountains, but to make jam, rather than to be pounded with the meat. The pattern of taking care of horses in the pre-reservation culture was carried over in the period embracing 1905 to cattle, with many disastrous mistakes. The present-day pattern concerning cattle has little in common with the one of 1905, being based upon the experience of white cattle men on and off the reservation. It is not cattle alone that makes an individual appear wealthy, nor the number of horses, but the amount of money an individual has to purchase store clothes, to have a home in white style and to own a fairly new automobile. This tendency to have cattle in order to have money to purchase whatever is needed is the substitute that has developed among the Assiniboine of the reservation. It is money, in actual denominations, that is considered to be wealth; money not to be given away, as horses were, but to be used as indices in display; in other words, conspicuous wealth.

Again, the pattern of having money in order to receive status has little to do with the aboriginal one. In the old culture, wealth was important in order to give feasts and to collect a following for prestige and for purposes of aid in disputes. Then, an individual who proved parsimonious could receive little return from his wealth, in the sense that status would be difficult to obtain. At present, with a few exceptions, relatives are not encouraged to stay around to be supported. Many individuals of status are publicly known to have warned relatives that they could expect little aid from them. And as far as feasts are concerned, these take place only among the older full-bloods. Some societies for purposes of mutual aid existed on the reservation before relief came in, but these were short in duration and never very effective. There was no borrowing back and forth within the community of Lodgepole. The attitude was that each family had to stand on its own feet, since it was difficult to get ahead were others continuously "sponging." Aid was however given to sons-in-law; this being a pattern that had continued from the aboriginal culture, although one similar in content existed within the white culture about them. The cases from which the above examples are taken will be treated in a later section. Sufficient that the changes in the economic form of life be pointed out.

As the reservation is at present

1. Technical Bulletin, No. 45, Department of Agriculture, p. 45, Washington, 1928.

situated, little self-sufficiency is had. Unlike the aboriginal culture, where there was a great degree of self-sufficiency, the modern Belknap Indian cannot exist by his own efforts. Cattle cannot be stolen, as horses were, nor can they be hunted. They must be either given by the government, or they must be bought through effort. Nor can an individual's cattle be sold, or slaughtered without express permit from the agency's extension department. Clothes are to be bought, or received in the form of rations from the agency, or the relief commission. Were government support suddenly removed and no aid made available from the outside, most of the Indians on the reservation would have starved to death during 1934 and 1935. Even in garden produce the Fort Belknap reservation has never been self-sufficient, since rations were always given by the government to the old, the sick, the unemployable and the pauper without resources. There were few families that were able to exist by their own efforts in the years that preceded the coming of relief. Incomes were very low until about 1930 when they were suddenly increased by various agency jobs and the building of the new hospital. With the coming of relief in the form of emergency relief and Emergency Conservation Work, incomes became higher than they had ever been. Again, with the coming of cattle in 1929, individual assets increased, although the income, due to the shortness of time, rose but perceptibly.

The precarious economic situation in which the Fort Belknap Indians found themselves in the fall of 1934 is seen from the number of individuals receiving either direct, or work relief. The complete economic dependence of the Indians upon government aid was but an index of how successful policies had been to make the Indian economically sufficient. With the prolonged drought and the persistent failure to find work the statement could not have been made that the Fort Belknap Assiniboine should have been prepared economically, or that they should have taken proper care of what they did have, since they had too little to start with.

Before the depression accentuated the economic poverty of the reservation, various aids were open to those in economic straits. One was the aboriginal pattern existent among many of the full-bloods of sharing whatever food was had with those that had none. Included in this was a society formed about 1920 called the St. Joseph Society. This was a Catholic society received from the Yanktonai Sioux. The officials were appointed by the members and consisted of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, an undertaker, a collector and a messenger. The wives of the members organized under an auxiliary called the People of St. Mary's, with the same number of officers. The members of these societies, before relief came, used to go around to all the homes to collect food for the needy. Those who had no wood, due to various circumstances had wood furnished them by members of this society. Rations were also issued by the agency to those in need, generally the old and the sick, though never in sufficient quantities for ordinary nutrition, due to the fact that this food had to be shared with the younger members of the family.

Material Culture

In writing of the material culture of the present-day Assiniboine on the Fort Belknap reservation it must be assumed that due to the same type of white contacts little difference exists between the description of Assiniboine homes and their furnishings and that of their Gros Ventre neighbors.

In houses little remains of the aboriginal culture. Log cabins have been in use on the reservation since the opening of the reservation in 1888. The use of tipis as summer homes gave way to the wall-tent in 1908, although in 1935 there was a trend existent away from wall tents to canvas tipis, but this mainly among the older full-bloods.

The typical Assiniboine home is that of a one-roomed log cabin with rough wooden floors and an earth roof. Of the two hundred and sixty-four homes on the reservation, forty-nine are frame dwellings, the rest being of log construction. The logs for the homes are taken from the yellow pine in the mountains, if the builder happens to live on the southern end of the reservation, or from the cotton-wood clumps along the Milk River Valley, if the individual lives on the northern part of the reservation.

The majority of the log cabins are one-roomed. There being one hundred and forty-five cabins of but one room, seventy-eight of two rooms, thirteen of three rooms and twenty-eight of four rooms and over. Most of the cabins have a dirt foundation, there being only eighteen homes with a cement foundation; these the homes of the frame category. But one hundred of the two hundred and sixty-four homes of the reservation can boast of shingled roofs. The others being mainly boards with a thick layer of dirt to act as protection against rain

and snow. In most of the homes the dirt and boards had to be continuously renewed and repaired in order to keep the moisture from dripping on the beds or upon the occupants of the cabins.

Seven of the cabins on the reservation had dirt floors, these being found along the Milk River Valley, owned by the older people. But seventeen cabins had matched boards, these including four homes with hardwood floors. The remaining two hundred and forty cabins had large rough boards cut from the logs at the old government mill at Hays. The majority of the cabins had no ceiling or wall finish. The inside logs were generally white-washed, or else draped with cheese-cloth to give a presentable appearance. Eight homes had plastered walls, thirty had beaver board and nineteen had wooden walls.

Chimneys were generally small iron pipes fastened to the stove pipe of the single family stove. Forty-six homes on the reservation had brick chimneys, the rest of the homes having small iron pipes, or even the ends of the stove pipes sticking up through the roof to act as substitutes.

As an average, about six persons were found to each home on the reservation. The majority of the cabins were built from twenty to thirty years ago, the age of the cabins averaging about twenty years. Ten years were estimated by the Indians themselves as the period of serviceability of any of these cabins. From the point of view of decency of living quarters, Hays ranked first, Milk River Valley second and Lodgepole last. More of the earth-roofed houses, in proportion to the population, were found at Lodgepole, than in the other two districts.

Many of the families living at Lodgepole used wall-tents or tipis as their summer dwellings; cooking would be done in the cabins, a few feet away. Various reasons were had for the use of these summer dwellings. One was the ferocity of the fleas lodged within the cabin walls; the other was the stuffiness of cabins in summer time, as compared with the tents. A third minor reason was the change involved in moving from a cabin that held them almost imprisoned during the winter months. Tents and tipis were not common along the Milk River Valley; the reason for their absence being the great hordes of man-eating mosquitoes that made the valley their home. Log cabins along this valley were stuffy places in summer time, since the windows and doors had to be continuously shut at night in order to keep out the unwanted insects. Even with the precautions taken, enough mosquitoes would sneak in through the cracks in the chinking to make sleep more of a misery than a pleasure.

Hays, due to better housing conditions and a slight difference in culture, did not seem to have the number of wall-tents around the cabins that were found at Lodgepole. While many canvas tipis could be seen around Lodgepole, I saw none at Hays during the time that I was there.

In furnishings, the standard was that of two iron-posted beds, with sagging mattresses and springs, one on each side of the room; a small pot-bellied iron stove that could hold but one or two cooking utensils, in which no baking could be done; a small wooden table covered with an oil cloth, two or three kitchen chairs, or occasionally an old-fashioned rocker, a bench or two, a small wooden stand holding the bucket of drinking water and dipper, a sewing machine, if the family could afford one, a medium-sized army trunk to hold the family papers and valuables, a small and cheap suit-case hung on the wall, a homemade cupboard, to hold the various dishes and cooking utensils, and various photographs, enlarged and colored. Sometimes, the pictures of ancient calendars, or highly colored drawings of church saints would be pasted along the wall to give a pleasant appearance to the room. All these furnishings would be compressed within a room about eighteen feet long and twelve feet wide. Little difference existed in the log cabins or the interior decorations between those owned by the mixed-bloods and those owned by the full-bloods. From this point of view, little difference existed in the material externals of both these groups.

Were the family a little more prosperous, a phonograph, sometimes even an orthophonic phonograph would be added to the interior. Two of the families at Lodgepole owned a radio and one, a quarter-blood Gros Ventre woman, owned a piano.

Few families owned decent kitchen ranges; the result being that most of the Lodgepole women were compelled to either fry their bread, or to purchase their bread in the stores, bread that was at least three days old by the time it was received in the store. This condition existed also at Hays and along the Milk River Valley. At Hays, the greatest turnover was in bread, received by the stores from Malta and Havre, seventy miles away.

The only two log-cabins lacking beds were along the Milk River. Here two cabins owned by two old couples

had pallets stretched on the earth floor as beds. These two cabins lacked tables, the occupants eating by sitting on the floor, plate in hand.

Relatively, the best homes were found on the northeastern part of the reservation, these being the homes of quarter-blood and half-blood Gros Ventre women married to whites. There was not a single home at Lodgepole that could be called fair by standards existent among the white ranchers around the reservation. But two homes of decent comfort were found at Hays, while at Beaver Creek, in the southeastern part of the reservation was found a home of a widowed half-blood Assiniboine, who had been married to a white man, in which were found hardwood floors, carpets, upholstered living-room furniture and an electric lighting plant. Despite the proximity of the homes along the Milk River valley to the high tension lines of the Montana Power company, not a single home was linked to the lines for electricity.

At the same time, there was but little variation from the standard of furnishings listed above in home after home on the reservation. If the family were economically a little better off, one to two rooms would be added, but these were always filled with beds and suitcases. During my stay at Lodgepole, a new appliance had been introduced by an enterprising salesman at Harlem. This was a gasoline-run washing machine, left standing outside the cabin due to lack of room inside. These were bought during July and August;and, at the date of my last stay at Lodgepole, four had been bought, with many of the other housewives anxious to get some money together in order to be able to own one for the family washing. Previous to the coming of these machines, the family washing was done in a large wash tub and was engaged in whenever the housewife felt so disposed.

Few homes had curtains, or screens, and here, no generalization can be made as to the greater prevalence of these objects either among the full-bloods, or among the mixed-bloods, nor among the older women, nor the younger ones, since the number that I had seen were equally divided among all four. As a general rule, the best furnishings were found among the women with more white blood, than Indian, and also among those Indian women married to white men. The homes of Indians employed at the agency and living in government houses were well-kept and well furnished.

In all the time that I spent on the reservation, I have never yet gone into a home where the floor was not cleanly swept and the beds made. At the same time, I have never yet seen dirty dishes lying around to attract flies. Whenever I had lunch at these cabins, I noticed that the dishes were quickly washed and dried soon after eating.

Porcelain or china dishes were not much in evidence in most of the homes. Dishes were always tinware, these including the cups as well as the plates. For eating, knives and forks were used and rarely was the western habit of using the knife as a spoon seen.

During 1935 there were about one hundred and twenty automobiles owned by the various Indians on the reservation, or about one automobile for every four families. Few of the cars were of recent make, being mainly second-hand cars either owned for a number of years or bought recently. Six families bought new cars during my stay on the reservation, four being new Chevrolets; the other two second-hand Fords. Those who did not own automobiles used saddle horses, or teams, to transport them to Lodgepole, Hays or Harlem. One family living twelve miles east of Lodgepole sold some cattle for two hundred dollars in order to buy a second-hand Ford. By the sale of these cattle but twenty head were left for future emergencies, yet, they had been so isolated from Lodgepole through lack of a car that they had felt it worthwhile to deprive themselves of things that they needed in order to purchase one. The rationalisation given for the purchase of this car proved interesting to me: they had bought the car in order to purchase their groceries at Malta some fifty-odd miles to the northeast in order to escape the high prices charged at the Lodgepole stores. Another family had obtained work in the nearby beet fields in order to get some money together to buy a car that would take them on a visit to their relatives living on the Red Pheasant Reserve near Battleford, Canada. Another family had purchased a new Chevrolet, although they were on relief, so as to be spared the long trip of twenty miles to Lodgepole by team. Another individual, a truck driver on E.C.W., earning one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month, had purchased a new Chevrolet, ostensibly to visit his relatives living near the agency, some forty miles north. Chevrolets were bought rather than Fords because of the reaction of the Indians to the owner of the Ford Agency at Harlem, who also happened to be the mayor of the town, a town noted for its sending Indians to repair streets as punishment for drunkenness. Added to this was the greater friendliness of the Chevrolet salesman at Harlem, who, at

last report, had married a quarter-blood Gros Ventre girl working at the agency.

The Milk River Valley had a greater proportion of cars than either Lodgepole or Hays. This was due to the greater distances separating the inhabitants of that district from one another as against the distances existing in the other two districts. The Assiniboine at Lodgepole were concentrated within a five mile radius; the same thing being true of the Gros Ventre around Hays. In the northern part of the reservation, on the other hand, no community centre existed; the Indians being strung along a distance of eighteen miles from the agency and twenty-two miles from Harlem. At the same time, being nearer to Harlem than the southern part of the reservation, the temptation to "go to town" was much greater.

Rapid changes had also occurred in dress during the time that had elapsed since the opening of the reservation. Moccasins of buck or moose skin were the only remnants left of aboriginal dress. The dress worn by the older people were those given them by the agency in the form of relief; dress that they had little voluntary choice in the choosing. The younger people, due to the contact with movies and magazines, were not satisfied unless they could approximate in their clothes the standard that they felt to be typical of the outside white culture.

The only differences existing in dress between the older full-bloods and the younger full-blood and mixed-blood were in the wearing of braids and moccasins. Moccasins, however, were always worn in winter time under a pair of overshoes. Thus the standard of dress as observed by me tended to be a pair of blue dungarees, a white or a blue work shirt, suspenders, or beaded belt, moccasins, or brown work shoes, khaki jacket and a large-brimmed black hat with a white band. Some variations existed within this norm. Some full-bloods at Lodgepole wore the high-heeled western boot, this due to their working on nearby ranches in their younger days. Some of the younger full-bloods along Milk River attempted to imitate the dress of cow punchers by wearing high-heeled boots, "ten-gallon" Stetsons, plaid shirts and blue dungarees, since this was the dress worn by their heroes at rodeos. The mixed-bloods under forty-five who were comparatively prosperous wore store clothes, white shirts, neckties, polished black oxfords at dances and when "going to town."

Braids were worn by most of the full-blood men over sixty years of age. The braids were two in number, one worn over each ear with the ends tied with pieces of red cloth. A phenomenon connected with the wearing of braids was that full-bloods over sixty years of age who spoke English wore no braids. One individual, August Moccasin, about sixty-five years of age, had his braids cut off in 1902, under the "short hair" rule. He wore short hair until about 1920, when he began to grow braids. About 1933 he cut his braids off again, this time voluntarily, assuming that he represented a more progressive element among the older full-bloods. August, although connected emotionally with the older full-bloods, felt that he was the connecting link between the old and the new; in consequence of this he did not wear that other symbol of age, the moccasin (1). Others, also affected by the "short hair" rule of the agency of twenty years ago, had as age advanced taken to the wearing of braids as a conscious protest against their inability to adjust to the changing conditions of reservation life. An example was that of Talks Different, who unable to speak English, had in the past few years grown braids to identify himself with the past. Three years ago, my interpreter's son, Joe, had worn braids, upon the insistence of his father. Upon entering school, he had been so ridiculed by his school mates that his braids were cut off. No other child on the reservation had had the experience of wearing braids. Actually, feeling exists among the younger people on the reservation that the wearer of braids is hopelessly old-fashioned and little respect is shown these by the young who are attempting to remold themselves to white patterns. Spirit Boy was the only non-English speaking old full-blood whom I saw with short hair, so that the pattern can be generalized to include almost all the older full-bloods.

As in men's dress, two different standards existed in women's dress based upon cultural differences. Full-blood women over sixty years of age wore their hair braided, as did the men of their age, their dresses were the mother-hubbard type, with a leather belt around their waists. For stormy weather, or for going to town, highly colored blankets and shawls were worn, or else colored scarfs would be wound around the head, in imitation of the type worn by European peasant women.

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1. On a visit to the Belknap reservation during the summer of 1936, it was noticed that August was growing his hair long again.

They invariably wore moccasins with anklets of buckskin.

The women from forty to sixty, whether mixed-blood or full-blood, wore store house dresses, with no leather belts, shoes and the style of hair dress being either braids or knotted in back, the latter being the more frequent. Coats were generally men's discarded army coats, rarely leather jackets, or cloth coats with fur collars.

Women from thirty to forty, and this included mixed-blood as well as full blood women, wore their hair tied in back, house-dresses, cloth coats with fur collars, shoes and cotton stockings. These would also dress for dances in black silk dresses, silk stockings and suede high-heeled shoes.

The younger girls from sixteen to thirty were the ones whose contact with the prevailing styles off the reservation was the greatest. They ordinarily wore their hair bobbed, with earrings and necklaces purchased from the general merchandise stores in Harlem. Most of them wore pea-colored leather jackets over store-bought house cresses, cotton stockings and cheap high-heeled shoes. In preparation for dances, or general events of importance, they would pore over the Sears Roebuck and the Montgomery Ward catalogues in order to pick various party dresses that they felt would be in style. At a dance given for me at Lodgepole, two girls came with their black evening gowns bought by mail order from St. Paul. An interesting conversation that I overheard while eating at the field nurse's home at Lodgepole dealt with the getting of permanent waves. One girl had received her lease check and she was anxious to go to Harlem in order to get a permanent wave for the Lodgepole dance. The girl was full-blood with straight black hair. The conversation was between three girls, two of whom had had their waved some three months ago. The prospective purchaser of a permanent wave asked the other two how long their waves lasted. One pointed to her hair and said, "You'd never believe that I had a permanent just three months ago. Look at that hair now--it's all frizzly. If I had some money, I'd go to Harlem with you and get my hair waved all over again."

Face powder and rouge were also in evidence among some of the girls at the dances. Cheap perfume was also bought in Harlem and sprinkled liberally over their clothes. Some hair-nets were also used to keep the permanent waves in condition. Hats were also worn, these hats being purchased through mail-order or from the Harlem stores.

An interesting topic of conversation among the younger girls is that of clothes. Upon coming back from Harlem after having attended a picture show, the girls would come to the house of the field nurse at Lodgepole and there hold an animated conversation upon what "swell" clothes were worn by the actresses in the movie. Looking over the mail-order catalogues also formed an interesting pastime for the girls of Lodgepole, as it did for everyone else, including my old friend, Returning Hunter. Picking out the choice bits of apparel was a game that they played in the sense that one girl would ask another what clothes she would pick for herself if she had plenty of money. At the same time, contact with the white school children made them all the more insistent that their clothes be in good style and taste. The girls who went to Harlem to attend High School felt most badly when their clothes were shabbier or more conspicuous than those worn by their school mates. One complaint that was often voiced by Joe Tucker, the father of two grown girls, was that he did not have enough money to dress his girls in such a way that the white girls, with whom they came in contact in Harlem, would not look down upon them.

While no fastidiousness was shown the young men, much of it was shown by the young girls. Many of them have rebelled against the wearing of long cotton underwear and many of the orders that went in through the mail were for silk and rayon underclothing. Even the wearing of cotton stockings made a girl feel self-conscious at a dance. Although there was more shabbiness than seen among whites at Harlem, dresses were always clean and well-pressed. Lack of neatness was not a fault found among the Assiniboine girls. At dances the girls looked their best with their hair neatly combed and their dresses in good taste.

Among the younger men, sweaters and leather jackets were much in use. At the Lodgepole dance, most of the young men wore corduroy trousers, white shirts and leather jackets. Two young men wore regular store suits, purchased at Harlem. But one individual of three-quarter blood wore a mustache and this was shaven off within a week after it was grown, due to the various obscene jests about it.

Thus, in clothes as well as well other components of modern material culture the tendency among the Fort Belknap Assiniboine is to approximate the standards held by the whites about them. With the greater contact of the young with the whites about the reservation, with the movies and the various newspapers and magazines sold

at Lodgepole, the feeling is had that this approximation will tend to become greater with the coming years. No attitude has so far arisen within the reservation culture to stem this selective approximation; attitudes, on the other hand are arising that will tend to hasten this assimilating process.

Foods

Many of the foods eaten by the younger Assiniboine on the reservation today have been carried over from boarding school days. Cornflakes, oatmeal and fried eggs for breakfast has become an integral part of the diet of the individuals under sixty years of age. During the time that I was on the reservation, I noticed a distinct trend toward experimentation with foods considered to be part of the "white man's" diet. For the first time, lettuce and spinach were grown in gardens by the full-bloods around Lodgepole and a distinction made between a morning meal and an evening meal.

It is in food that the cultural differences exist between the mixed-blood and the full-blood, with a median between the two among the younger full-blood.

Individuals of sixty and over had a diet almost completely concentrated on meat. Meat was considered the only type of food that would keep an individual well-nourished. During the summer of 1935 many of the older men and women were complaining that they were beginning to starve, since meat was expensive and few of them could afford meat more than once a week. A typical meal of one of the old consisted of boiled beef, bread without butter, soup, generally beef broth, and black tea. Where meat was lacking, they grumblingly ate potatoes and beans as substitutes. Few of the older men or women would drink milk, or eat the foods that were becoming increasingly popular with the younger generation. It was difficult for the older people to become used to potatoes, beans or rutabagas, this despite the fact that these vegetables had been grown for many years on the reservation. Pemmican had disappeared on the reservation during the time of my stay, although some of the older people were seen drying meat on racks to store for winter use.

Dried cherries had also disappeared as part of the diet of the older full-bloods. These cherries were at one time pounded and combined with dried meat. From 1931 on, the preserving of cherries in jars became its substitute, even among the old people. At one time dried cherries were boiled during the lean winter months and the ensuing soup drunk as an auxiliary to the dried meat. Wild turnips were still gathered by a few full-bloods, though the vast majority were content to eat the vegetables raised in their own gardens, or bought at the various reservation stores. Fried bread was very much in evidence at most of the homes of the full-bloods, though rarely in the homes of the mixed-bloods. This fried bread was made by making bread dough, adding baking powder, rolling in doughnut-like shape and frying in deep fat, always lard. This bread was so well liked by many of the people that it with jam and black tea sometimes formed the entire meal.

Little coffee was drunk by the older people; their beverage being mainly tea boiled until it was black and drunk unsweetened. The tea was a vestige of the old trading days and especially the contact with the Hudson's Bay posts of the North.

During the past few years canned tomatoes have become a very important element in the diet, both among young and old. Canned corn has increased in popularity as has canned milk to be used with cereals. Bacon, when procurable, was well-liked and many homes had bacon for breakfast.

Horsemeat was given out in rations from 1920 to 1930. This was never well liked and the receiving of this meat worked a hardship upon the few remaining members of the Horse Society who were forbidden by rule from eating such meat.

Dogmeat was still popular at Lodgepole during my stay. At a hand-game given by me, four puppies were strangled, their hair singed off over an open fire, the bodies cut up in small pieces and boiled in a large cauldron. Added to this were salt, pepper and mustard.

Among the younger people, contact with the culture about them was shown in the lunches which they prepared at their dances. At one lunch prepared at midnight, after four hours of dancing, sandwiches of ham on white bread, sweet pickle, coffee, pie and jello were served. These foods were introduced by the mixed-blood younger women and in turn spread very rapidly to the younger full-blood women. Added to this were the factors of eating at white restaurants in Harlem and memories of the domestic science courses at the Fort Belknap boarding school.

Among the mixed-bloods, the food to which they were accustomed tended

to be the food introduced into their household by their white parents. At one breakfast at a home of a half-blood Assiniboine of fifty-five, the menu was oatmeal with cream, wheat-cakes with butter and syrup and coffee.

During the past few years, especially, a Home Aid has been going around the reservation teaching the women to can preserves, bake bread and cake and to cook in approved manner. This Home Aid, a Southern Cheyenne woman, has been instrumental in making most of the younger women anxious to have their husbands purchase modern kitchen ranges for them.

Smoking was prevalent among both young and old, men and women. Due to the indulgence shown by the parents toward their children, children smoked, among the full-bloods, without any overly emotionally tinged reaction on the part of the parents. Youngsters of twelve to fourteen were often seen around dances smoking their own rolled cigarettes. An interesting phenomenon was that fewer girls smoked, at that age, than boys. The phenomenon was more marked among the children of mixed-blood parentage, than those of full-blood. The daughters of Joe Williams, a half-blood of forty-nine, never smoked, nor would they learn to smoke, since such behavior was felt untypical of well-behaved white girls. The attitude impressed upon these girls by Joe was that they were indices to be used as judgment of the reservation by outsiders. Also, having some Negro blood, their conduct was patterned to be exemplary, so that the reaction against their having such blood would not be accentuated.

Cultural Groups

Among the Assiniboine four sub-cultures exist, none being clear-cut and all overlapping. In a sense, this is but a momentary generalization of individuals on the reservation who can best be catalogued as those least assimilated to white culture to those most assimilated. More than the culture existent in aboriginal days, patterns in culture at present are actual trends, rather than static forms of behavior. Thus, in speaking of the sub-cultures existent at the present day, what is actually meant is that were a four point scale put up for the reservation as a whole with the standards of judgment that of either the aboriginal culture or the present day life, four rough categories could be made. It must be understood that the sub-cultures spoken of are momentary, since with each year, finer gradations in cultural groupings are being formed; what was true of 1935 would certainly not be true of 1915 or 1955. If these cultures are viewed as trends toward the groupings and cultural behavior found off the reservation, a far better picture is had of the reservation as observed by me during my summer's stay.

The full-bloods above sixty years of age form one cultural grouping. These were above the school age at the opening of schools in 1892 and consequently had little opportunity to speak English, or to receive the patterns inculcated by these schools. The greatest amount of aboriginal patterns are found in this group.

The full-bloods below the age of sixty form another group. These range in age from forty to sixty. My interpreter fell into this category. These all speak English fairly well, can read and write and have spent at least two years in school. An allegiance is had by these to the remnants of the aboriginal culture, in the sense that they may attend about fifty per cent of the Indian dances and among themselves will speak Assiniboine, rather than English. They will not wear mocassins, nor dress themselves in Indian paraphernalia. They are all, nominally at least, members of some Christian religious denomination and they attend church irregularly. Much of their behavior is aboriginal in spirit, especially in the handling of children. In this category are also found the greatest number of unemployables, that is, individuals who have not been able to learn the habits of work typical of the contrasting white cultures. Their wives will do some bead work, mostly in floral designs, will speak Assiniboine among themselves and will do most of the gardening work. These women will be more proficient in sewing, due to their mission school days, than their younger sisters. In this category the visiting of friends and relatives forms a greater pleasure than attending picture shows and dances. No sensitivity is found in this group about the possession of Indian blood; indeed most of them receive satisfaction in being aware of the romantic position of the Indian in American life. However, many of them resent the supposed discrimination existent at the agency at the town of Harlem. Aone, a full-blood of fifty-two, told me in very excited terms that unless the town of Harlem stopped discriminating against the Indian and persecuting him by putting him to work cleaning streets when arrested for drunkenness, there would soon be "civil war" between the town and the reservation. Among this group, also, is found the greatest antagonism against the agency. These are the ones who

have rebelled most strongly against what was felt to be actual suppression of their rights to be themselves. The antagonism of the older full-bloods towards the agency tended to be unvoiced and of little influence outside the group. In this group are found most of the agency so-called "agitators" and "bolsheviks." No superintendent could succeed with the antagonism of this group against him. Some nostalgic feeling is also had here toward root medicines and "Indian cures," but it is by no means strong; most of these put more stress upon doctors and hospitals when sick, than upon home remedies, the latter being employed when it is felt that the doctor is unwilling to cure.

Much gradation exists in this group, since no crystallized patterns can be found that will apply to all the individuals found within. In a sense, most of the individuals of that age will, upon analysis, be found sharing about seventy per cent of the cultural statistical items. In the main, an individual of this arbitrarily defined group will be found to share more of his behavior patterns with those of his age-group, than with the individuals in the other categories. Thus, Simon, my interpreter, is far more sophisticated and aware of the world about the reservation, than many an individual of his age. Yet, compared to an individual like Dick King, the assistant forester, a full-blood of about forty-five, he stands a little naive in contrast. Simon still keeps the mother-in-law and the father-in-law taboos; Dick King does not. Simon is definitely interested in knowing as much as he can of the aboriginal culture; Dick is more interested in knowing the laws made for the use of the Indian service and past and future policies of the Indian Office. Dick King is always part of present-day delegations to Washington, since he is far and above the best informed man on the Reorganization Act and what economic possibilities are necessary for the reservation. Simon, on the other hand, although a member of the tribal council, was last on a delegation in 1914. With the rapid change occurring on the reservation, Simon now finds himself a little outdated; Dick is the man who wants to be the future leader and he has prepared himself for such leadership.

To point out further the gradations existent within this group, Mrs. Burnt Hand, an Assiniboine full-blood of forty-three had a son, who died at the hospital of tuberculosis. As soon as the son was buried, all the dishes in the house were broken, a good kitchen range was given away, as well as much of other household property. The death of their son left them almost without any possessions. This was a pattern that had definitely existed in aboriginal days.

Ira Talks Different, another full-blood of the same age, intelligent, spoke good English, was nevertheless another variant within this sub-culture. During July of 1935 he made a feast to which I was invited. Most of the older people were invited to this, a feast in memory of his child who died the year previous at the age of one. This was a cultural form that had been carried over. The fact that only the older full-bloods were invited seemed to suggest to me at that time that Ira's father had perhaps a greater hand in the feast than Ira. At this feast, all the furniture was cleared out of one room, pallets laid around the floors and the guests sat cross-legged on the floor with their plates in front of them. As soon as the meal was finished the guests dumped their excess food into small cloth bags to take home, another item that had survived from aboriginal days. Another remnant of this sub-cultural grouping was the praying of Returning Hunter. Before the eating began, he prayed that the little child in the spirit world would intercede with the various spirits to see that the family was well protected; that no harm befell relatives or those present. Although these patterns were definitely part of the older people's beliefs, these were accepted tolerantly by Ira, who felt that the deed in itself was a fitting memory to his dead child.

Many of the hand-games given at Lodgepole were given by individuals of this group. Henry Chopwood, the Lodgepole policeman, the individual with cow puncher's shoes, was one of the inveterate givers of hand-games, as was Eugene Gunn, a quiet full-blood of forty-two.

The third cultural grouping on the reservation comprised most of the full-bloods and many of the mixed-bloods under forty. These held on somewhat to the feeling of Indian behavior, although many of them had formed a strong reaction to the aboriginal patterns of culture still possessed by some of the older full-bloods. It is among this group that the greatest amount of delinquency occurs. These are the ones who have suffered most from the cultural breakdown of the old way of life. Speaking English among themselves and even to the individuals older than themselves, they had through the schools adopted the frame of reference of attempting to ridicule every thing Indian. Having accepted a status of cultural inferiority they were anxious to convince others of their

equality with the whites about them by adopting the brusque and impolite types of mannerisms so typical of insecure personalities. These never attended Indian ceremonies, except to stand outside to speak loudly and to banter with one another. Their attitudes toward the various remnants of the aboriginal culture were found in the feeling that to convince themselves they were not "primitive" meant strong emotional reactions towards symbols of what they felt to be this "primitiveness." They attended the various rodeos about the reservation at a time when the Sun-Dance was being held at the agency. During the Gros Ventre fair, some of the younger men attempted to hold an Owl Dance. After drumming for a while without being able to draw individuals of their age-group, they gave up the task as hopeless. At modern "white" dances given on the reservation, these individuals flocked to the halls in numbers.

The average amount of education, in years, of this group appeared to be about six. The greatest differences existing between them and the other groups mentioned appeared to be in their psychological attitudes toward themselves and the reservation. In material culture, they differed little. Unlike the group above them, they had little desire to know what existed in the world about them. It was also interesting that politeness and hospitality decreased in degree from the older full-blood to this group. Having had greater contact with the roving ranch-hand and the types found at rodeos and in Harlem on Saturday night, than with the Indian type of former days, they had adopted many of the behavior patterns of the former. If unmarried, these tended to boast of the number of girls with whom they had slept. Many of them went to the houses of prostitution in the nearby towns; this trend being especially true during the past few years. In proportion to their numbers there have been many more illegitimate children born to girls in this class, than to the girls in the mixed-blood group, although the numbers for both are still comparatively small. This delinquency seems to be due to the one-roomed cabins in which their parents live and to the fact that they are unable to meet their male acquaintances except at dances and in automobiles. Boredom is so prevalent on the reservation and parental supervision so lax that it is strange that delinquency does not express itself in higher numbers. One control factor in this delinquency among the girls seems to be the early age at which many marriages take place. Marriage in this group during the past ten years has tended to be between sixteen and twenty-two in age. In this group, also, are found more girls attending church than boys. Many of the communicants at the small church at Lodgepole tended to be girls and young women. It was felt to be unmasculine for boys and young men to attend church, an attitude that did not seem to exist among the Gros Ventre at Hays.

A fourth group, shading somewhat from the older members to the younger ones tended to be the so-called first generation mixed-bloods; that is, individuals with one white parent. These never attended Indian dances nor ceremonies, with but one exception. Few of them could speak Assiniboine fluently. One of this group, age about forty-five, found it difficult to speak Assiniboine and he understood little of it when spoken to him. All of the frame houses on the reservation are owned by individuals of this group. These are the individuals who feel themselves "civilized" in contrast to the older full-bloods. In one unnamed family will be found two representatives of this group and one a representative of the second group mentioned. One daughter, a woman of about sixty, owns the finest home on the reservation, keeps herself apart from the other Indians and whose anxious wish it was to have all her childrem married to whites. Another son served in the navy for three years, came back to the reservation and is one of the leaders of the "progressive" group. Another son, however, married a full-blood girl and in behavior is undistinguished from the full-bloods of his age. These differences in behavior occasioned by marrying whites, by working outside the reservation and by intimate contact with whites were the factors that formed the basis upon which individuals could be classified as belonging to one cultural group, rather than to another.

Again, individuals of this group consciously strove to emulate the behavior of whites on the outside. Being classified by the full-bloods as whites and by the whites as Indians, theirs was the struggle to divorce themselves from identification with the full-bloods. Like the full-bloods they were easily discouraged, being sensitive and paranoid in much of their behavior. To make matters worse, psychologically, these were aware of the rationalizations given by whites for their reaction against Indians and in their attempt to adjust themselves to white opinion they unconsciously used these white rationalizations as a sort of temporary frame of reference against which all the behavior of the full-blood and many of the mixed-bloods were judged. Their refusal to attend Indian

ceremonies and dances, even the Owl dances, were deliberate protests to serve as notice that their behavior was white, rather than Indian; with the added feeling that the longer the full-blood culture continued, the longer would they be held in contempt by the whites because of their identification with the reservation. Consciously these attempted to imitate and take over the table manners and the moral standards of the whites, sometimes even leaning over backwards. As an example, Joe Williams was the only individual in Lodgepole who refused to allow his daughters to have anything to do with Joan Harris, a mixed-blood girl of twenty-four. Joan had left her white husband and had had three illegitimate children by one, Joe Weaselhead, a full-blood Gros Ventre. When Joan was made assistant leader of the 4H Girl's Club, Joe withdrew his daughters from that club. Although gossip was against Joan, none of the families at Lodgepole ostracised her, socially, in the manner of Joe Williams and his wife.

As an example of the acceptance of a status of cultural inferiority as contrasted to the accepted white standard of behavior, were the conversations of Harry Arthur, a half-blood Assiniboine of thirty-three. Harry told me time and time again that he became discouraged if he felt that whites judged him with preconceived stereotypes. He was always afraid that some form of his behavior that was not typically white could be taken as an index by some white that he was Indian, with all the bad traits of the latter. When he worked on the outside, he was always self-conscious of his Indian blood, that if he made a mistake, the reaction of his superiors would be, "Well, what can you expect of an Indian." In working as a truck-driver on E.C.W. he worked as hard as he was able, in order that no one could take him for a "lazy Indian" and to prove that, although he was Indian in part, he had none of their attributed traits. Harry tried to impress me at our first meetings with these attitudes, based upon white rationalizations. Harry, interestingly enough, was trying to divorce himself from these traits by speaking a great deal about them. Randon excerpts of his conversation with me follow:

> "The trouble with these Indians is they don't want to work."
>
> "In the old days the women did all the work and the men did all the loafing. Somehow this situation now is the government's fault; they never taught us to work; to be on our own."
>
> "The old way of life is gone and we don't want it back (this on a basis of fear that the Reorganization Act was going to artificially revive the aboriginal culture). Sooner or later, we will have to take on the white ways, so it might as well be now. This isn't anything new; the whole world has had to take over white ways. The trouble about these Indians is that they are too backward to try to do anything. If a little Indian boy starts asking a lot of questions in Harlem, you will hear the mother say, "Shut up. Do you want the white people to think you are crazy?" They've got us so scared of ourselves that we're afraid of taking on too many of the white ways because we have been taught to think that the whites will laugh at us if we do."
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> "If you try to do the things the whites do, the Indians will say that the whites think you're crazy; that white ways are for whites and Indian ways for Indians. That's why we are so backward. There are lot of things that we could do if we'd only get rid of these ideas. A community hall, a gymnasium and a little library would help out great to get the young people to amuse themselves in their spare time, so that they wouldn't think it fun to get drunk and run around with a lot of girls."

The greater the contact with whites, the greater was the amount of sensitivity found among the Indians, mostly mixed-bloods. One of the most intelligent girls on the reservation, Helen Simpson, a mixed-blood girl of twenty-five, described to me her self-consciousness on being part Indian. She had worked as a clerk for a while in Great Falls, but she claimed she was never made to feel that she was different in any way. Her friends were white and in her contacts with them she had been made to feel an almost complete indifference towards her cultural background. When she was introduced to new acquaintances her feeling was not whether the other individual realized that she were Indian. Yet, upon her return to the reservation two years ago, she was made to feel all the more conscious of her Indian blood. It tended to discourage her a little that she would not be judged for what she was, but for what others thought she should be.

As an example of a variant, Helen Simpson forms an interesting study. She is a very attractive girl, olive-skinned, dark-eyed, and curly headed. Upon graduation from the Harlem High School at the age of seventeen, she had gone to Great Falls to work as a

clerk. In personality and intelligence she contrasted more than favorably with the "belles" of Harlem; the white men at Harlem, before her marriage, considered her to be the most attractive girl in town. Her father had been one of the first of the agency employees. He had attempted to bring up his children as whites, rather than as Indians. In reminiscing about her father she pointed out the manner in which he impressed upon his children's minds the necessity of doing things in the approved "white" manner. When the full-bloods came to his home, they would stand outside waiting to be noticed, as is the usual custom with full-bloods. Her father would never invite them to come in, pretending not to see them, until they learned to come to the door and knock as white men did. By means of this and other examples, Helen's mind, when small, was doubly impressed with the dichotomy existing between Indian and white culture. Her little contact with the Assiniboine on the reservation gave her no opportunity to learn Assiniboine. However, due to her position as assistant case worker for the Relief Commission on the reservation, she picked up enough Assiniboine to be able to speak in a halting fashion. Being aware of the reaction in Harlem toward the full-blood, she has gone out of her way to be well-liked by the latter. And due to her friendliness with the old people she was put up as a candidate from the Lodgepole district by the Assiniboine and elected to the council at the last election, the first woman to hold such office. In behavior, Helen Simpson is indistinguishable from most girls brought up in rural districts. She has now adopted an attitude of intellectualism as a symbol of her desire to affiliate, mentally, with white culture.

Charles Reeves forms another variant in this composite picture of the half-bloods on the reservation. Charles is a half-blood Assiniboine of fifty married to a half-blood Southern Cheyenne woman, who is at present Home Aid on the reservation. With their fourteen year old daughter they live in the Gros Ventre section of Hays. Charles is a good conversationalist who feels at home with whites. His role on the reservation has been that of a philosophical gentleman. Although he had but six years of schooling in his younger days, he has travelled around the country extensively, including a lengthy stay in Oklahoma and a period spent on the Crow reservation in Montana. The result of these experiences has been that Charles has developed an amateur ethnologist's point of view in regarding the differences between the various tribes of Indians he has visited. Charles learned to paint while young, picking up the technique by himself. With the learning of this technique went the pattern of "artistic" behavior. Thus, in a conversation with me one morning, he said, "Every now and then I have to go into the mountains to get away from all this drabness. Up there I suddenly see a scene in colors that makes me want to paint it. The scene just gets me--it gives me a feeling of pleasure that nothing else can--the beauty of it just grips me. There are plenty of times that I have gone up there to paint beauty, because there is nothing as beautiful as scenes of nature. I can see things of beauty that few other people can. I can see colors and perspective when my friends who are with me can see nothing." (His landscapes show talent, especially in the choice of colors and in perspective.)

Charles would often visit me and his conversations naturally turned to politics, international affairs and religion. He was the one who told me that John Sanborn, a psychopathic half-blood who worked as a janitor around the agency office, had been formerly an admirer of Robert Ingersoll. Charles has resigned himself to the cultural flux in which the reservation Indians find themselves. He has done a good deal of reading and in behavior is similar to some of the Montanas who have come in contact with intellectual movements. The agency, he felt, was composed of a badly misunderstood group of men who had in turn musjudged the Indian. Being the sort of individual who was most anxious to be well-liked by everyone, Charles never went out of his way to make enemies, neither among the agency employees nor the Indians. But once did he complain and that being when he feared that his wife would be dismissed by the Extension Department. For his daughter, a girl of fourteen, both Charles and his wife had the most ambitious of plans including four years at some college after graduation from high school. Their daughter was carefully watched and chaperoned to see that she grew up with the behavior of a small-town girl living off the reservation. Outside of the fact that Charles was known to have Indian blood, a factor also having influence upon him, little difference could be found in behavior between Charles and western whites. From early childhood Charles had been closely connected with his white father adopting attitudes that made him approximate that of his white acquaintances. Until I was told, I had no idea that his wife had Indian blood, being white in appearance and behavior. His brother, George, was more self-conscious of his Indian blood and he made a definite and con-

scious effort to rid himself of all the patterns of behavior which he considered Indian. Thus, upon coming back to the reservation from Fort Hall, he made some money by taking orders for lumber jackets, shirts and clothes for an eastern company. His ambition and desire, he confided to me, was to sell his land on the reservation and with the money buy a cleaning and laundry plant near Fort Hall. Business, he felt, formed the best means for a good livelihood. He had no interests in cattle, nor in the reservation, being anxious to leave the latter as soon as possible. And with the statement that the Indians on the reservation did not have the brains to make themselves economically independent, George had shown his driving force, since the standard of judgment to which he had affiliated had no roots in the reservation culture.

Example after example could be taken of this mixed-blood cultural mix-up without any clear picture shown of the present-day behavior of members of this group. Sufficient to point out another variant, Henry Helgeson, killed in an automobile accident after I had left the reservation. Henry was a quarter-blood Assiniboine of twenty-two years of age. He had graduated from the Harlem High School and then had gone to Omaha, Nebraska, where he had worked for a while as a clerk, even attending business college for a few months. Henry was blond with none of the physical characteristics of the Indian. He was very sensitive concerning his Indian blood, the index being his embarrassment at being seen with his full-blood grandmother when whites were around. In talking to me Henry always attempted to show his lack of affiliation with the reservation by voicing all the prejudices heard from whites in the streets of Harlem. Henry had worked for a while at the Lake Mercantile store at Harlem, with the result that the business man's point of view of Indians being bad debt payers soon became Henry's badge of divorcement from the reservation culture about him. His reason for being on the reservation was a position in the E.C.W. office as clerk.

Another family, the McIntyres, the most prosperous family on the reservation had little to do with the Indians about them. Due to the fact that three of the McIntyres had married white women, the full-bloods voiced the complaint the the white father of this family had frequently warned his sons not to marry Indian women. In consequence, the other members of the family married mixed-blood women of sufficient light complexion to be classified as white. But one, James McIntyre, married an Indian-looking woman, a half blood Seneca from Oklahoma.

Cultural Groups (cont'd.)-The Full-Blood

As a contrast, the full-bloods still retain all of the remnants of the aboriginal culture. The contrast between a full-blood of some seventy years with a mixed-blood of twenty is the difference between the days of buffalo hunting and the present day of mail order catalogues, automobiles and movies. It is not until one has spent some time on the reservation that one sees the wide disparity that exists between the older and the younger generations on the reservation, the differences summing up to equal the cultural changes that have taken place since the opening of the reservation.

The full-bloods of the older generation represent a lost cause. Theirs was not the respect given to age that was typical of their youth. When a hand-game was given at Lodgepole during July at the schoolhouse, four young men, varying in age from fourteen to eighteen, stood outside throwing firecrackers into the room where the old people were seated, some of the firecrackers coming within a few inches of the players. When Spirit Boy went out to warn the boys to stop this type of play, he was jeered at and one boy of fifteen shouted, "G'wan you old Indian. What do you know, anyway. You're nothing but a savage just in your buckskins." In the room, my old friend, Returning Hunter, attempted to make friends with some of the boys loitering around. The response that he received was contemptuous laughter and the boys soon moved away from him. It was interesting for me that these reactions on the part of the young were but part of this total mechanism that had operated to bring about this culture change, namely a strong attachment to the frame of reference of white culture and its standards of judgment. My young Indian friend who yelled defiance at Spirit Boy was obviously not operating under an aboriginal pattern of behavior; instead, he was behaving in the same manner as any white boy who had learned to have contempt for an old Indian. Curiously enough, this boy was a full-blood.

Actually, it is some sort of shock for individuals having had contact with other reservations to observe the almost complete cultural breakdown that has occurred; especially in this collapse noticeable in the reactions between young and old. August Moccasin, a full-blood Assiniboine of sixty-three, had to slap a young full-blood girl for being disrespectful to him. The

girl was the step- daughter of Talks Different, another old Assiniboine. Both August and Talks Different were amazed that the young should have adopted such behavior, August even confessing to me that that was the first time he had ever struck a child.

But forty-three of these old full-bloods remain who can partake in and run any of the aboriginal dances and ceremonies. With each year the numbers become fewer and the feeling was had among many that the Sun-Dance had but about two years more to go. These of the older generation clung together, meeting often to discuss the ways of the agency, the claim of the Assiniboine against the United States Government and the need for money for the tribe.

Interestingly enough, the pattern of money from the government is one that is most entrenched in the minds of this generation, decreasing among the younger full-bloods and the mixed-bloods. This attitude was one of confusion and was due to the mental difficulty had by many of the old generation in adjusting themselves to the life of the new. The rapid changes that had occurred during their lifetime had left them confused and needing support only the government could give them, the government being the symbol of that powerful group of white people who were responsible for their present-day anxieties. Some of the old would meet together at the home of August Mocassin, to discuss the unfulfilled treaty of 1851. Having been defeated for every one of the council seats by the younger generation, conversant in English and the ways of the white world, their comfort came from the feeling that they were chiefs of the old order, working for the welfare of the tribe, and especially for the young who were unaware of their efforts. By forcing through their claim and electing themselves as a committee, theirs was the feeling that reward and recognition by the younger people would soon be theirs.

In the past few years, the business of pressing the claim had been taken away from their hands by the more enterprising younger Assiniboine members of the council, yet these old people still clung jealously to the work that they themselves had initiated years previously. They were living in a world of illusion. Having no actual power in present-day affairs, they had built up a framework, based upon their childhood patterns, that made them feel that they were still the arbiters and the leaders of the tribe. This was evident in the serious manner in which they invited traveling officials of the Indian Office, who were laying the framework of the Reorganization Act to meetings at their cabins to discuss what should be done in the interests of tribal welfare; this though their power was shorn by the council who discussed the changes in the new constitution with these officials in minute detail. Delegations to Washington were not represented by members of this group, since they were found to be, by the younger members of the tribe, too naive to discuss tribal matters. In a sense, these committee meetings represented the Swan Song of the old culture. The situation on the reservation had become so pathetic for them that they were trying desperately to behave in a manner, symbolical to them, "as if" the aboriginal culture had still continued and they, the older and wiser members of the tribe were seated in council in serious and weighty deliberation. At these gatherings, their world of illusion was like the golden age" when little princess went beneath the moon to meet her lover."

Their attitudes were best displayed in their conversations. The fragments about to be quoted were told me upon my arrival at Lodgepole:

> "We heard that Mr. Collier was going to become Commissioner a few years ago; our hearts were glad. When he took office, what few tribes were left were glad to fight with him to get back what they have lost to whites. We, the Assiniboine, gladly accepted this self-government and all the other tribes on other reservations heard that we were going to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Commissioner.
>
> "We thank Mr. Collier for bringing back this Indian government to us for there are few of us left. But if we tell Mr. Collier what kind of government we want, will he be good to us and give us what we want? (Many Coos, age seventy-three)"
>
> "What the Indians need is money and we can't get that. Now, the Supreme Being knows everything and He knows that Mr. Collier is going to give us many good things that we may live.
>
> "The whole year through we have been hearing that Congress has been appropriating money for the states. We feel that we ought to have some of that money to support our tribe. The Great Supreme Being has taught us to help one another. We want to keep that on, but how can we do so when we haven't enough money? We also wish that the Indian governments will still keep on, even though Mr. Collier leaves his office. (Walking Chief, age seventy)"

"Before Mr. Collier took office, the government appropriated thirty thousand dollars a year for this tribe. All through the years we have received no benefit from that money, because white people have been coming in and working for the agency, taking our money. We want that money for ourselves instead of the white people taking it for their living. We want to live ourselves. It would be a good thing if the government would give a pension to each individual over sixty years of age.

"Another thing, we pray that Congress be told that we would like to have so much canvas so that we can live in Indian tipis where we would feel more at home. We want very much to live in Indian lodges. Two bolts of canvas would be enough for each tipi. If we were to live in tipis, we would feel more at home and we would feel happier and better. That's the way we want to live. Another thing, the white employees at the agency have been doing things that we Indians don't like. They have been doing too many mean things to us. As an example, when we ship cattle, they (the agency) take our money (to pay for reimbursable loans, etc.) so that we don't get anything for the shipments we make (Talks Different, age sixty-eight)."

"We don't want to pay grazing fees for horses and cattle on our allotted land. We have to pay grazing fees (as membership in the various stock associations). Our wish is that our horses and cattle have free range, because this is our own land.

"Again, some people have three to four allotments received from dead relatives, which they lease out. The government should take these allotments and give them to our grandchildren who have received no allotments. All of us have children of twelve to thirteen who have no land at all and will have none when they grow up. Our children and grandchildren cannot wait until we die to receive land; that will be too long. They should take the land of the dead people now and allot them to our children (Peter Wing, age sixty-seven)."

"All Indians have their own religions. Through these religions they have raised their children to be healthy and good. When the white church came in on this reservation, the agency got the Indians not to attend our own religious ceremonies. You can see what has happened. The Indians have become weakened in bodies and they are now fast dying off. It is only recently that they have returned the Sun Dance to us, but that has not prevented our dying (Many Coos)."

"Long before the white man came the Indians lived happily. From the time a child could speak the language, their up-bringing was such that they wouldn't do any wrong. The white man has now come in and he thinks that we know nothing. He is mistaken. Again, game was plenty in our day. We had plenty to eat and we were happy in our time. Now we have nothing and living is hard for us. And as long as we can remember we have never paid taxes. We don't want to pay taxes now, nor have our land taxed. The agent has now gone to Washington to tell the Commissioner what kind of government we should have. He never asked us what kind of government we want. He should have asked us so that we could have told him." (The Superintendent went to Washington with a delegation on tribal business that had nothing at all to do with the new tribal constitution.) (Many Coos)

A few variants existed even among this group. One was Paul Two Kill, aged sixty-nine, who officiated as the Catholic catechist at Lodgepole. Paul had not attended a Sun Dance for years, being one of the few who had informed the agency whenever a Sun Dance was being held secretly. Nor did Paul attend any of the hand-games at Lodgepole, this despite the fact that, not speaking English, he would be expected to be part of the older full-blood culture. Many Coos had also been a fervent Catholic until about five years ago when he suddenly left the church, being drawn more to the patterns held by his age-mates. Sam King, aged seventy-three, was indignant when I asked him to be an informant. He insisted that he could tell me nothing, since he had wanted to forget all that occurred in his early childhood. The myths of the tribe, he assured me, were but fairy tales that no intelligent person could believe. Yet with a little variation in culture, Sam obviously belonged to this older group of full-bloods. His reactions were similar in form, although he had less intensity of feeling toward the agency than did the other older people. Sam, however, refused to turn to the past in his old age. His feeling was that the Indians were far better off at the present date than when he was a boy. Sam, however, attended the Sun Dance and danced in the Grass Dance when it was held on the agency grounds.

Old Strong, another full-blood of eighty years living along the Milk

River valley clung tenaciously to the past. Like Horn Weasel, another old man, he still wore flannel leggings, breech clout and moccasins. His home was a one-roomed log-cabin with earth floor and roof, some nine miles from the agency. He has adopted the attitudes of a die-hard, refusing to sleep in a bed and using a pallet instead. Nor will Old Strong and his wife eat from a table. When John Longknife had the old pair over to his cabin for a meal, Old Strong refused to sit at the table, saying, "My son, give us our food on the floor. Eating at a table is the white man's way; sitting on the floor is the Indian way." Nor could they have any chairs in their cabin. Outside of pallets and stove, no other furnishings existed in the cabin.

August Mocassin was another of the full-bloods, who upon becoming older was continuously talking himself into taking on the remnants of the aboriginal culture. Due to his reaction toward the present-day Assiniboine children, he was continuously speaking of the manner in which perfect children were raised in the old days. All of the parts of the aboriginal culture were far superior to the present-day ones and the more August spoke of the superiority of the old days over the present, the more consciously he tried to take over these remnants that he might live them.

John Longknife, age fifty-nine, living some ten miles from the agency was somewhat different in behavior. His main boast upon my visiting him was that he paid his debts like a "white man"; that he was trying to act in the same manner as any white. However, there were many behavior patterns existent among the older people that kept him in check. For the past year he had had George Blackbird, a full-blood of some forty years of age, boarding with him. George had never offered to pay John any money toward his board. And although John was indignant that George had refused to pay him for the food eaten, he felt that he could do nothing to make him pay. He could not ask George for any money, for he knew that George would refuse to pay; and if he told George to leave his cabin, George would say that John was "stingy and mean" with his food. When George worked for two days during the summer helping John put up his hay, he was paid two dollars per day and nothing was deducted from this sum for past board. As John said, "Whenever an Indian is supposed to have a lot of grub, he always gets plenty with him, trying to help share it. The younger people I know are kicking out these fellows that don't pay board."

Peter Buckskin, Full-Blood

Among the full-bloods from forty to sixty, a shading in culture existed as against that of the individuals born before the opening of the reservation. In this culture there was much of the suspicious attitude toward the agency held by the older people, coupled with a feeling of being frustrated by reservation policies. An interesting study that I collected was that of Peter Buckskin, age forty-three, who lived with his mother some twelve miles from the agency. Peter was discouraged with existent reservation conditions and very much dissatisfied with his own life. Not being able to blame himself for his feeling of insecurity, he had vented all of his pent-up dissatisfaction upon the agency and the Indian office. I came to visit him one day and after speaking of generalized subjects, he told me that he wanted to go to Canada to escape the unbearable conditions on the reservation. In my conversations with him I asked him to tell me something of his background; that I did not care what he spoke of as long as he told me things that were on his mind. The following conversation was the result:

"When I was five or six we lived up near Warm Springs (on the southeastern portion of the reservation). My father had sixty or seventy head of cattle and even more horses than that. The stock grazed around the spring and he watched them, or else he had us kids do the watching. Sometimes he would bring a few steers down to be shipped and after the cattle had been sold, the police took the money for the cattle shipments down to him. The agency shipped the cattle and some of the Indians made good money. There were no roads at that time; just trails. The old folks had a garden and they seemed to get along. There were six of us kids and my aunts, uncles and cousins were always around.

"You know, agent W. R. Logan had a ranch in the Bear-Paws. They used to haul steers out of here. I don't know whether it was government stuff or not. There was a stockman here by the name of Louis Bolster and this guy worked for Logan. They were supposed to round up cattle around the Little Rockies. This cattle outfit had a brand figure 10 on the right and left ribs. Bolster was also working for the agency at that time. He wanted the Indians to let their cattle loose, so he could take care of them. The Indians claimed that he put I.D. on one side, right rib, on the calves. He then turned the calves on the

range. The other outfit, Logan's gang, was working up from the Missouri. Seeing the calves branded so, they threw them down and put '10' on the left rib. They took all those calves to the Missouri River and they never did come back. That was Logan's outfit. The cows followed the calves, but they couldn't get their calves back.

"The cattle at that time were individually owned and they were around each man's place. (To a question about the tribal herd) The tribal herd was started about 1912 or 1913. The individually-owned cattle amounted to eighteen hundred head. We had no one to take care of them and the cattle used to wander off the reservation. We had to have permits to get off the reservation to look for our calves and cows.

"After that Logan roundup, only twelve of the old man's sixty head of cattle came back. My old man came back and said the government was going to issue more cattle. That was so. They did issue some cattle to him and we got one apiece from that number.

"I started going to school when I was seven. I went to the Fort Belknap boarding school. My father didn't want to come back and forth so he built a place east of the agency to stay. After that he got four or five trips to the mountains killing a beef each time. I don't think he shipped any more after that because he didn't have any more to ship.

"Logan had the Indians celebrate up here one time, about 1906, for two weeks. All the time the roundup was going on. After that celebration we went back to the mountains to look for our horses, and, by gosh, the whole bunch was gone. The old man got word at that time that somebody drove those horses over to Larb Hills (southeast of the reservation). I don't know whether the old man got a permit to hunt for his horses but I know that he took two or three families with him to look for those horses. I believe he got six or seven horses back with him and the rest of the bunch disappeared.

"At the time of Ohlerking's death (a white man married to an Indian woman), he sent for August Mocassin. He told him that he was suffering for all the crooked deals he pulled on the reservation. He told him about the horses. He told August that those horses were gone forever, being east in Ohio, or some place like that. Rawhide Dan, working for Ohlerking, was the fellow that took those horses. If Ohlerking had no connection with that theft, he wouldn't have told August that. The balance of our horses amounted to ten or twelve. Right after that a blizzard came and snowed them under in coulees, and what little horses we had, we cashed in on the storm. The next day, all the Indians around us were crying because of the stock they lost.

"My father lived down here on Milk River. My father wanted to move back to Canada and so he made a trip up there and right after they came back, my mother died. My father then got married to Dancing Dog. She was living on her place where we now live (east of the agency). We built dykes on three forties after that. One morning we got a team and bought three or four saddle ponies...One morning we went looking for these horses and ponies and the best ones were all gone. So about noon the next day we got word that were stolen. Roy Mocassin and myself followed those horses clear up to the Canadian line. We lost track of them ten miles this side of the line. We got there too soon. About eighteen miles north of the railroad, we found one horse. That was the only horse we did get back; the rest of the horses we never got. Somebody told me that Krause, our government farmer, put the boys that stole the horses wise to our horses. That steal put us afoot again. We got some of the dykes up though. We made the best of it and we finally got the water coming through those dykes. We raised good hay then on my mother's forty and Blue Horse's two forties. We made good and we got a lot of hay. With this hay we went around and traded house logs and we built a log house. That house is still standing there today. Then I tried farming after that.

"I tried farming, but by gosh, I never could get ahead. The most I made was twenty-five dollars. I tried to farm wheat and oats. I couldn't get enough water for one reason. The season was too short. Frost would come when the wheat was turning.. My seed wheat was $1.25 a bushel, sometimes higher. This was during the war. At threshing time the wheat don't go as high as early spring. I tried it for five years and I never could make any headway. The only place I

could get money from was hay. I had no stock at that time, except a couple of saddle horses. I grew my own vegetables. We had three acres of garden and that didn't take much water; we made out good in our garden. I am still in the hole for about seventy-five dollars since I started farming, so that I think it is pretty near time to try something else. Hay is about the best, providing you get water. I have but forty acres to make a living. Got three cattle last fall. I didn't want any cattle. If I wanted anything it was that they fully belong to me. I don't like the idea of the government owning them. We can't sell them when we want to and we can't butcher them when we want to. Last year they shipped cattle. I am not going to spend ten dollars for hay to get a dollar and a half for my cattle. Each year they want to ship in the the fall two-year-old steers. They got to eat hay in the winter. Then to get seventy-five cents each year for them (after money was deducted at the agency for old reimbursable loans), that's too cheap. I would rather raise horses. You just breed them and turn them loose. I have had as much as 15 or 16 head of horses. That was about three years ago. I only have two or three head of horses now.

"All I was able to do was to feed cattle. They don't get much for a one-year old steer. They work the whole year long and they would send ten or twelve down to St.Paul and lose three to four head in the stock yards.

"Skee Kirkaldie says he lost three head in St. Paul. They sort the cattle out down there. One bunch goes at seven and a half cents, another at six and a half cents, etc. These boys are supposed to go down and watch what is going on. They lost the steers by having them put in a bunch where they shouldn't be. They get all their money down there and when they come back they find they weren't paid for two or three (the money being disbursed through the agency).

"I tried to raise cattle, but I had to lease land for my cattle. Where was I going to get the money to pay for their grazing and hay? So I decided I would ship that stuff.

"Last year I took my horses down to Minnesota. I took my thirteen head down and all I have to show for it is a car. I don't need any money to get started in Canada. I've got relatives up in Canada that I can get help from.

"I am getting plumb disgusted with this life. For a while I thought that the government was going to turn us loose, give us patents-in fee and let us start out by ourselves. I was going to apply for my patent-in-fee. Then along comes the Wheeler-Howard Bill. That's getting me all balled up. I am not as healthy as I used to be. Ten years is a long time to base my plans on. If that's the best Congress can do for us, I would rather see things ride the way they are. When I come back from Canada I am going to see Elliott (the superintendent) and see whether I can sell out my land. I am not satisfied with the house I am living in.

"What gets me is that I have got no pay. I can't trade my boots, my hat, nothing. I don't like the way life has been going on here. I am dissatisfied. I never got married because times were getting harder each year. I have always been able to get more girls than money. I am forty-three now and I can't enjoy amusements much longer. I want to settle down in a home, get myself a few cattle and horses. Then I want to get married and settle down. I wouldn't feel contented on this reservation even if I did get married, because I can't make any money out of it. The Indian has no freedom here. Whatever the Indian does or has, the government has a say in it. A lot of the boys have the same feeling I have. The Extension Agent and farmers are always telling you what to do. We have no mind of our own. We are always taking orders and I don't like it. They give us cattle without giving us the right to decide whether we want them. How are you going to feed cattle when they only give you a month's notice (referring to the shipment of drought cattle last year). Especially when you haven't got any hay. When a person has no land he is no good whatever. I might as well have no land.

"If I get hay from relief or the government I've got to pay for it and go into debt, with little chance of breaking even. Even with that allotment act of 1921; they printed it and passed it and there wasn't twelve people on the reservation who knew what the allotment act was about. Even those twelve couldn't interpret it well, because they didn't know the meaning of those laws. I have got three hundred and forty acres of grazing land that I

do nothing with. I refuse to sign power of attorney papers so that they can lease my lands (for fear that the agency will take these lands away from him). My lands have been left alone for two or three years now.

(To a question asking him about his school days) "When I went to boarding school I never had enough to eat. We used to kill pigs and chickens and take them away to eat and cook. We used to even spear cotton-tail rabbits. I went to boarding school from 1899 to 1908. I was in the fourth grade when I left. The highest grade at that time was the sixth grade. They worked us too much. I would get headaches sometimes from doing my lessons. When I went to school I was very much afraid of white folks. I never saw many of them. Pretty near all the kids used to count the days when we were going to be turned loose. We were like a lot of slaves in school. There was nothing about the school that made us satisfied. We had no clothes. We had to borrow everyone else's clothes. I am sure that you wouldn't feel just right if you had someone else's clothes. The kids would always throw spitballs and rubber balls at the girls. During recess time they teased the girls and pulled their hair.

(To a question asking him whether he went out very much with girls) "I went with a lot of girls when I went to school, but I never thought anything wrong when I was with them. In 1910 when I was up in Canada was the first time I slept with a woman. I wasn't drunk either that night. Other boys were stepping out and I throwed in with them. I got over my bashfulness that night. The girls used to be much wilder at one time than they are at present. They shouldn't allow forced marriages, because they never turn out right. And they should make a law forbidding separation and divorce (this as a bolstering up of his own feeling of morality).

(In asking him what he thought of the Reorganization Act) "The Indians at present don't even know what the Wheeler-Howard Bill is. They don't even know why they are fencing up the reservation. We don't know a thing that is happening. We are not independent. We are living on relief now. We have to pay money for water-rights. We get grazing money up in the office and they won't give it to us. They take out money for water-rights and grazing rights and reimbursable. We don't get any money. Well, by God, this can't go on like this. We send delegates down to Washington and we don't know what they have accomplished or what they are going to do. I don't like this Wheeler-Howard Bill. It won't do a damn bit of good. What does the Wheeler-Howard Bill mean by fencing up this reservation (an operation that had nothing to do with the Act)? And then they got seventy-two thousand dollars from the sale of the tribal herd. Who got the money? Where did it go?

"Then, on the Fort Peck reservation an Indian could sell his land and file a homestead on state lands. They were given two chances. We are not getting that break. I can't file a homestead in Montana, yet any foreigner can. That isn't right and that shows the sort of government we got.

"If we cut some logs up in the mountains and leave them there for thirty days, the Forestry Department takes them away from us. That shows how much say we've got on this reservation. I could tell you plenty of things and you would have the same feeling that I have if you were living here.

"I have a little experience in horses. Supposing you want to raise horses and you got to have your stallion and mares in the pasture. About May the colts start coming, until the latter part of July. The Forestry Department tells you what range to put them on. Some of the mares aren't bred yet; that don't look right. Some of the colts don't come until August and if you are going to let the mares go without a stallion, that's a poor way to raise horses.

"About that irrigation water, we don't get all the water we want. About the time I get my field half covered, somebody comes up from Dodson or Malta and hollers that we are using too much water and we would have to let down some of the boards, at the dyke, to let the water out. We had some pretty good fields in alfalfa.

"I had about twenty-three acres in alfalfa, getting about two or three crops for three years. And the next year, the alfalfa was all frozen out. It costs too much money to put in alfalfa seed; fifteen dollars for fifty pounds.

"My mother has a forty-acre hay

meadow and this reservation highway took one acre of it for a road, thirty feet by a quarter mile long. Next year they wanted to cut off another half acre, east of the forty, for a road allowance. They want to widen it again and that will make an acre of each forty. The Reclamation Service is now charging $40 for that irrigation, when she hasn't got forty acres. If they are going to widen the other road, they are going to take a little more land off again. Yet, they are charging my mother a full $40 when there is a road on half of it and there are plenty of places on the forty where no water can come.

"I have one pony south of Saco (on the Fort Peck reservation). There are Indians that have horses off the reservation. Nobody looks after their stock after they get off the reservation. There's even cattle from last year that went pretty far off the reservation. There was even one party that went all the way to Chinook to butcher their beef cow. With all these fences and all these cowboys, they don't look after nothing. I sure would hate to have my stuff scattered over like that.

"You can see why I am sick of the reservation. All my neighbors come and wake me up. They want to go to the relief and get their relief orders and grocery orders. They say, 'I'll pay the gas and oil.' I hate to refuse them, but still I don't think I've got a dollar and a half from them (yet, John wanted to go to Canada where he had relatives who could help him!).

(Reminiscing) "When I was a kid they used to have a lot of horses on these hills. In the spring when the calves were born, a few weeks after, they would go out and make a general roundup. They branded all the calves in the roundup. In the fall they would cut out the beef stuff. About two weeks ago there were just a few guys, just for themselves, branding their stuff at the Community pasture. Whatever stuff wasn't branded, big sucking calves that missed their mothers, their owners weren't there and these fellows were trying to claim these calves. They're going to be balled up if they keep up that liek. Some of them would get out and some stay home. Last Sunday there was supposed to be another party going out there, but they didn't go. I suppose they are thinking of going the day after tomorrow. It doesn't look right to go out every two weeks, when a fellow could do it in two roundups, one in the spring and one in the fall. I was riding out there three years ago and I know what is going on out there. Those riders they got now aren't worth much. They have no cattle guards on the highway. Cattle will drift out of the fences and before you know it they are way out north. That don't look so good when you have to go through all that stuff.

(In response to a question asking him what he thought of the agency jail) "That Indian jail here is too easy. The fellows don't want to leave that place. They let the fellows out for Indian dances, celebrations, fairs and rodeos and the fellows always come back. They never lock that jail house. You know, if that was a real jail house, the fellows wouldn't want to stay around there. A lot of the young fellows even board there, when they have no business in there. A little while back these prisoners would saddle up government horses and go to some dance or fair. Even the policeman would haul them around in his car.

(Concerning amusements along the Milk River valley) "They used to have hand-games and dances down the river. Lately it has gotten so that they have no amusements at all here. They all go to town; the town has more attractions. Everything is getting haywire around here. All you can do in the evenings is go visiting. Some of the girls used to be pretty wild down here. There were Mollie Cochran, Josephine Plumage and Catherine who used to go off on drunks whenever there was a dance.

(In response to a question about his travels) "In 1918 I was down at the Arapaho reservation in Wyoming. I was down there about a couple of months. I went there to find about reimbursable cattle. They were selling out the tribal herd there on reimbursables. They charged us seventy-five dollars for a cow and a calf.

"During 1922, 1923, and 1924 I was up at Scobey (on the Fort Peck reservation). I worked during the fall, helping with the threshing. One time I got eleven dollars a day. Sometimes, I just forgot to come back to the reservation. I was in North Dakota, around Elbowwoods, in 1920.

"I generally go the Wolf Point, Glasgow, Wood Mountain and Climax rodeos. I was also in Alberta,

Canada. I stampeded there all summer one time. Most places they don't charge for entries. I always ride bucking horses, saddle, wild-cow milking, bull-dogging, calf-roping and bareback. In Banff, Alberta, I was going to ride a yak. The last minute a fellow telegraphed to Ottawa and they told us to stay off the thing. Last summer I spent about two months in Crookston, Minnesota. I rode in a show there and I rode in Roseview, near the Canadian line. If I had some horses now, I would bring them in a rodeo. But you don't get much money in a rodeo; all you can get would be around ninety dollars. I've got to go somewhere else and see if I can't make a better living. I can't go in the cattle business here; I haven't got enough land. All I can put on my land is twelve head. Up in Canada, cattle are cheap.

"I have no say about my money or anything else. I'm fed up. I don't want this new deal here. I think I could at least get a fair deal in Canada. I'm a sick man. I can't work here (due to injuries received at a rodeo last year). In Canada I could get my gun and get a deer anytime I wanted to. Game is more plentiful up there... I know something of farming. There's no rain out here. They have plowed up lands and monkeyed with nature. The grass doesn't even grow out here any more. The white farmers are leaving the country after they ruined it.

"I didn't have any hay lands to call my own until after allotment. I wasn't here during allotment. I was down at Fort Peck for three years then. And when I came back they told me they had picked out forty acres for me. They picked out forty acres of gumbo (clay) with greasewood on it. There were cracks in it so big you could almost see China through them. Never did have any water on it. It took about three years before I could get that place to start growing hay. The most I got was about four stacks, or two tons to the acre. This year I got forty tons and hay is selling at eight dollars a ton, with two dollars a load off for freighting.

(In response to a question why he wanted to go to Canada) "The Canadian government takes good care of their Indians. They give them treaty money each year; give them rations, seed and they even gave them horses this year. When I went up to Canada in 1921, those who didn't want to have their children go to school weren't forced to. They only started a day-school in 1911. Those Indians there are less civilized than we are here. I am pretty near related to all of the fifteen families at the Red Pheasant reserve up in Canada.

"Under the Wheeler-Howard Bill the government ought to pay half my car license, half my clothes and car, because they will own half of what I have anyway.

"If I make out good in Canada, I want to go up to Alaska. I hear there's a band of Assiniboine up there."

Peter Buckskin would be considered a "bolshevik" in agency judgments. He forms a typical case of the type of individual whom agency officials consider as "trouble-makers." To a certain extent his discontent on the reservation is far more accentuated than that found among most of the individuals of his age-group. Yet, psychologically, Peter's reactions were justifiable. His attempt to get away from the reservation was the typical reaction of a sensitive individual to whom all types of anxieties had come through the continuous changes occurring among the various groups. Peter actually suffered from a feeling of cultural inferiority when he compared himself with the whites living about the reservation. The fact that he was unable to make an economic living made him dissatisfied with himself. Through his contacts with whites he had built up certain standards that he was unable to satisfy while on the reservation. From childhood on, his orders came from whites, and the only opportunity he had had to feel free from this domination which he was consciously rebelling against was in his free-lancing off the reservation. However, the economic depression on the outside had put a stop to that. Were Peter to feel that life in Canada would be similar to that in the United States in possibilities of frustration, his reaction would be similar to many of the older full-bloods on the reservation; either an acceptance of his inferior position, or an embitterness toward the agency, all this leading to a world of ideas that would have little contact with the actual conditions existent on the reservation. What Peter was fighting against was this feeling of inferiority that was gradually engulfing him. He had pointed out that he had been afraid of whites in his childhood. Actually, he still is, although he has compensated for this by pointing out to me how equal he is to many white farmers living around the reservation, except that their opportunities were greater. I feel that I

am not misunderstanding Peter Buckskin when I say that the previous policies had made individuals like Peter a little insecure concerning their own abilities; that Peter is but typical of a situation that is especially prominent on the reservation, namely, a desire to break away from the inferior position held by many of his group on the reservation, a position, they assume, in which they have been placed by many of the white employees.

Peter was discouraged, since little attempt had been made to build up in him the self-confidence that he was anxious to have. No interest was shown in him by the agency and the more he rebelled against his status, the greater the reaction against him by the agency force. In this feeling of demoralization would result a listlessness and an apathy that would turn him into a typical psychopathic case. Blame, in his own mind, could only be leveled against the outside forces that held him in a vise-like grip. The outlet that remained for him,then, was the emotional one of bitterness towards factors responsible for his condition. Any unfriendliness on the part of any employee, or white was assumed to be, by Peter, an index that he was being looked down upon; consequently his reaction would be one of great negativism and bitterness, for in only that way did he feel that he was displaying to the others his reaction that he was not inferior. In the same manner, impoliteness on the part of other Indians like Peter to the agency force was actually a means by which they could bolster up their own confidence in themselves. Psychologically, like many of the other so-called "agitators" on the reservation, conditions had become so unbearable for Peter that escape was the only means possible. At the same time, this feeling of a reaction against them from the outside was making them supersensitive to the slightest hint of dislike on the part of any white. It was difficult to make friends with Peter, because of his lack of ease. Sullenness was the cloak that he took to mask this feeling of insecurity. At the same time, the same feeling of insecurity was displayed with Indians whom he felt to be superior in status to himself, a feeling moderated somewhat by the belief that any Indian of such status was just as inferior in the eyes of whites. These did not need to be impressed with his being, as did whites (consequently the reaction heard time and time again on the reservation:"Who does he think he is? He's nothing but an Indian like myself."). This feeling of dissatisfaction found among many of the Indians like Peter was but an index of the psychological satisfaction received by them from modern reservation life.

Harry Arthur, Half-blood

To use but another example, the same feeling of dissatisfaction with reservation conditions existed among many mixed-bloods. I had come to know Harry Arthur while I was at Lodgepole. Harry impressed me as being an intelligent fellow, who was attempting to fit himself into the white standards considered to be the ideal outside of the reservation. Harry was a young man of thirty-three, working as a truck-driver on E.C.W. when I met him. His home was at Lodgepole, although he had built himself a frame house near the agency which he rented to one of the truck-drivers on P.W.A. for six dollars a month. In personality, Harry was shy and quiet, only talking after he was sure of friendship. He came to my cabin one evening, discouraged over a wage-cut received. The following came from his attempts to unburden his worries:

He had finished the sixth grade at the Fort Belknap School when he was sixteen. He was then sent to Chemawa where he stayed some five months. He soon became tired of school and left. He found a job as an extra on a section gang of the Union Pacific Railroad, working near the Dalles, Oregon. He worked on this gang for a month until he had saved up enough money to return to the reservation. Upon his return, he continued schooling at the Belknap school for a few months. He was asked if he wanted to go to Haskell, but because he delayed answering, his railroad ticket to Haskell was sent back.

"I always like to work around machinery. I didn't know what to do after my chance to go to Haskell was taken away, so I decided to go up to Kalispel, Montana,with my sister. I looked for work there but I couldn't find any, so I came to Glacier Park where I got a job on the Great Northern Railroad as a section hand. I worked on that section gang from March until August in 1920. I then went to Great Falls, where I got a job on the railroad there. I worked there until September of the same year when a fellow with whom I worked joined the navy and asked me to join with him. You know how the Indians feel about getting out in the white world. They are sensitive to white ridicule because of the feeling, 'He is nothing but an Indian; his word is no good.' I got to thinking it

over for five minutes and then I went over to the post office and signed up with my friend. I felt kind of shaky about going out with all those classes of whites. They shipped us to Salt Lake City. They gave us a good physical examination there and I passed. I told them that I was eighteen, although I wasn't then. The authorities wrote to the agent for his permission and he wrote back that it was okay for me to sign up. They treated me just like the whites and I felt fine. I travelled all alone to San Francisco. I didn't get homesick, though as I had all sorts of company and I had to answer all sorts of questions about the Indians.

"From September 8 to November 24 of that year, I was at Yerba Buena Island. I had a soft job; all I had to do was fix the chairs in the auditorium and I didn't have to drill any more. Then, they put me on the U.S.S. Texas. I was lost on that ship, it was so big. They made me a coal passer for a fireman. Then I became a fireman and after that I became a mess cook. They were pretty strict on board that ship. I only had one warning in the three years that I was there and that was for being one hour and fifteen minutes over leave. I received an honorable discharge and a clean record and by the time I left I was a second-class fireman recommended for first. My pay was $54 a month when I left.

"I then worked in Long Beach for a while. A fellow promised to make an electrician out of me, but they soon laid off a lot of men and I was out of luck. I worked then in the Long Beach Paper Company plant as a construction laborer at $3.50 a day. I soon got acquainted with the boss of a battery place across the street and he asked me if I wanted to work in that plant with the pay of $24 a week to start off with. I worked pasting plates, and by the time I worked four days there, they put me on piece work. The boss was just trying me out. My first check on piece work was thirty-four dollars a week. I wanted to put out a good job, so the next week I worked even harder. On the next Monday morning I averaged over three hundred and fifty plates for the day and by the end of the week I was making over $45 for a week's work. One week I made $55 and I soon saw that the boss was satisfied with my work. The place soon blew up--no money, and I was laid off. I had worked six months there. I didn't know what to do, so I fooled around town until I could get another job. Within two weeks I got a job with the Long Beach Glass Company as a laborer at $4.50 a day. I worked six months there and as work was getting slack I was laid off. Then I worked with the Webster Company, contractors, building a plant for the Southern California Edison Company, getting three dollars a day as a laborer. I worked with the company two weeks as a laborer until I was promoted to be an electrician's helper. I got four dollars a day as a helper. We hung cables, pulled wires, wired generators and bent conduits. I also worked on transformers, lifting coils and testing them out. One day a checker asked me to be his helper. I took the job and he taught me how to read blue-prints. Again, I had the same feeling; I had no education and I was an Indian. It was a backward feeling all right.

"They had now raised me to $4.60 a day and I studied the blue-prints every night and soon I got to read them pretty good. Soon he turned me loose. I was scared that if I made a mistake, they'd say, "He is one of those dizzy Indians." I made out pretty well just the same. I soon got to draw blueprints and I even got to hang the big cables from the generators to the transformers. I worked on that job for six months until I got laid off. I got laid off in the morning and in the afternoon I was working on a new building for the J. W. McNeil Company. They first put me on as a laborer, but soon I was made a plasterer's helper. I worked eleven months on that building and during that time I lost but seven working days. The boss then transferred me to another job in Los Angeles, building the Orpheum Theater. I left that job after a month because I was living in Long Beach and it was too far to go to work. I then went back to Stone and Webster, where I worked for a while as a laborer. I soon had a longing to go home. The boss didn't want me to quit. The only way to get around that was to tell him that I just wanted a month's vacation to see my folks.

"When I left I did intend togo back to Long Beach. I came back here in July, 1926, and stayed until February 1927. I worked around here and there. I then went to the White Earth reservation in Minnesota for a year. I worked in the logging camps there until I made enough money to buy myself a used car. One day I got a letter from

Congressman Leavitt telling me that I was allowed six hundred dollars to go back to fix up my allotment. I thought that was pretty good. I came back here in 1928, but nothing was done about that money. They couldn't allow me much. I then worked for Dean Hampton, east of Harlem, putting up hay. The heat was terrific and I couldn't stand it. Finally, I thought I could work on the new hospital. I worked there with pick and shovel, right down in the pit with the rest of them. The boss's name was Thorndike and he soon saw that I had been around contractors. The other fellows knew how to work, but nothing of building. Thorndike gave me a soft job as an instructor to go to different parts of the job and tell the fellows what to do.

"They were doing all the freighting by team at that time and it was awfully slow. Thorndike disliked that slowness. He said, 'I wish some of you boys would get some trucks; these teams are too slow.' He kept up that talk for a few days. None of us had any money, for we were just working for money. I got to thinking. I knew I could work one. One morning he was impatient as hell, getting close with the money. I popped up, 'How would it be if I got a truck?' 'Have you got any money?' 'No, I haven't got a nickel.' 'Do you think you can get one?' 'I don't know. I can try it (I didn't feel backward then like the other boys.)'. He said, 'If you get a truck, I'll give you all the hauling.' 'I can get a second hand truck; I have no money for a new truck.' 'No, don't get a second hand truck, if you are going to get a truck at all.' So then he told me I'd have to get a new truck to do all the hauling. 'You'll more than pay for the truck. When you get through, you'll have a new truck left.' 'All right.' 'You go up and see Mr. Clark. Tell him I sent you up. I'll give you all the hauling at the hospital if you'll get a new truck.'

"Mr. Clark was the superintendent then. I went up and told Mr. Clark all. He asked me if I had any money. I said, 'No.' He said, 'I don't know what you can do; however, if you are going to do all the hauling, go over and see if you can get a new truck.' I went over to Olson at the Ford garage and told him of the proposition offered me. He said, 'Well, let's go over and see the agent.' We got in his car and saw Clark and Thorndike. He asked Mr. Thorndike if what I said was true. Both agreed that I would have the hauling if I got a truck. Olson said, 'All right, I'll let you have a truck. Come on over and get it.' I went over with him and made out the papers without a cent down. He figured out how much hauling there would be. The agreement was that I couldn't drive that truck around outside of my actual hauling. That truck that I took was priced at eleven hundred dollars. If I didn't live up to my agreement, they were to take that truck away from me. I gave them my promise and I started in to work. I worked from eight to sixteen hours a day driving that truck myself. I kept up my part of it. Thorndike didn't say what he was going to pay me. Soon he told me that they were going to allow me ten dollars a day and out of that I was to get seventy-five dollars a month for my own expenses. I soon fell down and I couldn't make it. I got the council to raise it to twelve dollars a day. That got on their nerves. Thorndike told me to haul beets if I thought I didn't get enough. I said, 'No, you told me to get the truck. You have to see me thru. I figured that you people would see me through. I took your word for it. Now you want me to haul beets at a dollar a ton. I'll lose my truck if I start hauling beets.' He was pretty sore at me then, but I still kept on hauling.

"One morning I came to work and the men had all gone home. At noon I caught Thorndike at the club building. 'What's the matter? Everybody is going home. A strike? Is the job blown up?' 'No strike, but I thought I had lots of money to go on, but come to find out this morning, we are out of money.' 'Gosh, that's tough. What am I to do with my truck? The payments have to be made each month. The truck has to be paid for. Beet hauling is over now. There's nothing for me to do.' I was worrying about my truck. 'You go up and see Mr. Clark. See what he has to say about it.' I saw Mr. Clark. He said, 'Gosh, I don't know what we can do. We are all out of money. Some money is bound to come in. If we get that money, you can go back to work again. We'll let you know in a few days.'

"I went back in a few days and there was no money yet. I had to live and at the same time pay for my truck. The next morning I saw Mr. Clark again. I walked in his office and he walked to the window and looked out and did some thinking for a while. I figured I wasn't

going to let him get away with it if I could help it. After a while he said, 'How would it be if we got a reimbursable agreement to pay for the truck. In that way you won't lose it.' So I sat there and thought a while. Something told me, 'No, don't take that deal.' I knew he was sore at me. I knew that deep in his heart he was trying to get rid of me. I had taken his word and so did Olson, that I would get work to pay for that truck. So, finally I thought to myself, 'I'll take his word for it. I'll put it on reimbursable. As soon as I get back to work, I'll pay that reimbursable fund.' He jumped up when I told him yes. He had a letter written to Washington, D.C., in regard to having that truck put on reimbursable. So he told me, 'As soon as the money comes comes in, you can go back to work.' In a few days they heard from Washington that they put my truck on reimbursable agreement.

"During that winter I hauled coal and anything I could find to do. Finally, in the spring when they figured on starting, I heard a rumor going around that the agency was getting three new trucks. So I walked over and spoke to Clark. 'Well, I'll be going back to work pretty quick, won't I?' 'I don't know, we are getting some trucks in pretty quick and I figured we'll do our own hauling.' So then I said, 'What about my truck. I'm supposed to do the hauling.' 'You'll have to do the best you can. Find work. We have our own trucks.' When he said that, I was so mad I just walked away without saying a word more. I then saw Olson about it. He sure went up in the air. I turned to the council for help. I couldn't get any help from them, especially Bill Bigby who wasn't interested. Olson wanted to help me get my job back. I had been away so long that I didn't know how the council worked. I was disgusted and discouraged. I couldn't get any help anywhere. But then I said to myself, 'I've been in tough spots before and I've gotten out of them. I'll get out of this.' So finally, I moved down to Lodgepole and hauled freight for Bushman's store whenever I could.

"I helped to give dances while I was down here. These young fellows were awfully backward. They would go to a dance and look in through the windows. I used to encourage them to come in, 'Come on in, you fellows.' We got them started in the white dances and soon we got all of them in.

"Finally, fate dealt me a bad hand. A couple of girls ran away. I knew who they were. One of them had got in an argument with her old grandmother, Mrs. Thinker, and she told her that she was going to run away if the old lady didn't quit pestering her. In order to make their threat good, both girls ran away. Their grandmother then told the police that I had run away with them. The day they ran away I was over with my wife at Albert Perry's, that day being Sunday. That night I went down to see the ball game at Lodgepole. We came down and we found that the game was over. In going over we met these two girls walking near the store. We stopped at the store and went home. I was home that Sunday night. The next morning Dave Hawley, the policeman, came over to me and said, 'Where are the two girls you ran off with?' I had been reported to the police because I happened to be friendly with them. 'I didn't run off with any girls,' I said. 'Mrs. Thinker said you did run off.' 'No, I didn't.'

"They took me down to the agency on the charge of running off with those two girls. I stayed there ten days before I had a trial. It was just a kangaroo court, the girls, the judge, and the chief of police, Dick Jones. They had no witnesses on either side. The girls had gone to Simon Firstshoot's, where they were hiding out. The judge asked me a lot of questions. He said, 'You have a good record, so we'll give you a light sentence.' Simon wouldn't show up to be witness for me. I was absolutely innocent of this, yet they gave me sixty days and they took my truck away from me. I had proof that I had nothing to do with this through my wife and Albert Perry and his wife. They were there with me when the girls ran away. I figured that if they were going to railroad me, I'd take it. I figured that if I got out of jail, I would be gone from here. They put me to work putting fire in furnaces. Finally they put me to work in the hospital as a male attendant, nights.

"I served forty-eight of the sixty

days. Shotwell let me out as my family needed support (1).

"Shotwell thought I was a bad character as he had heard about that truck deal. He told me that they had the truck and they were going to sell it. The truck was appraised then at three hundred dollars.

"As soon as I got out I went to work for the reclamation service, cleaning ditches. We worked all day in that cold mud with hip boots. By the time we were finished with work we were all covered with mud. We had scrapers pull the mud out of the ditches. That work lasted for about a couple of months, until the mud froze so that we couldn't work. Relief came about that time, about the last part of 1932. Rations and clothing were given out, but you had to work for it. Both my brother and myself were working until that relief came in. We had a lot of grub stored up and plenty of clothes. We were fixed for the winter to run quite a while. Lots of people went wild over this relief. Albert and I figured we didn't need this relief right then. I could have taken it, but I figured there was someone who needed it more than I did. Let him get in on that while the getting was good. Finally, a fellow walked up to me and said, 'You fellows think you are too good for relief, walking around with new clothes. You fellows think you are too good to get in with the rest of us.' I told him,'No, Paul, that isn't it. It's like this. I don't need it right now. Albert and I have plenty of grub and clothes. Let the old people who have to have it get in on this. When I do need it,I can come and get it.' So that was that. They wanted to get everything they could get. Most of them didn't need it. I felt that when I was ready,I would call for it.

"Soon after, Mr. Shotwell called me up and we started to talk about the truck. A lot of relief had to be hauled to Hays and Lodgepole and we didn't have enough trucks. So he said, 'I can't seem to get anyone to buy a truck and we need a truck awfully bad. I think I'll write to Washington to get authority to buy that truck for you and apply it to your reimbursable and I'll give you a job hauling the stuff. How will that be?' 'Fine and dandy.' In the meantime they waited for authority to buy that truck. Finally one day, I got quinsy and had to go to the hospital. I was in the hospital for nine days and in the meanwhile my wife was running short of sugar and a few things. I called for relief but was turned down.

"Varnum (the farmer) was the man that turned me down. Dr. Bowden was my mediator, but Varnum turned him down, too. I didn't know what to do. I had just gotten out of bed and I was told I should stay another four or five days at the hospital. I left the hospital and went up to see Varnum. I told him I needed a purchase order as I had just left the sickbed and we needed some stuff at home. I told him that I couldn't work for a few days. 'Well, we can't give you anything, then.' When he told me that, I was boiling. Then I went on home. The next day I had to go to work and earn my way before I could get a purchase order. I worked by feeding and watering the bulls for Bill Murray (farmer at the boarding school). I was still sick, yet I wouldn't argue with Varnum. Soon Mr. Shotwell told me to get the truck ready for work. I worked the rest of the winter and all the next spring. Sixteen days was all the relief I did get. For the next summer and the next fall and the next winter I was getting two dollars a day until finally they raised me to sixty dollars a month. There were just two of us truck drivers, Buster Adams being on the other truck. Finally, in the last of May, 1933, Shotwell told me they were getting three trucks, me on one and Albert and Tom Perry on the other two. 'You've done good work and you are entitled to it. You will be paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month; that's what you are rated at.' So I felt pretty good. I was

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1. From the police record of August 3, 1931--"Harry Arthur sentenced to sixty days--to work on telephone line starting between Lodgepole and Hays. To do his own trucking with his truck. Roy Peal (farmer) to keep his time. Rations will be issued him during sentence. When Mr. Shotwell returns the retaking of his truck will be considered (truck retaken). Dora and Rebecca Thinker both state that they are going with Harry Arthur and John Crasco. Dora says she is going with Harry and Rebecca with John, but no wrong was done. The judge stationed these girls at the hospital for punishment until their folks make arrangements for them."

coming up again. I had to take a trip to Minnesota to see my wife's folks. I was gone for about ten days. I came back June eleventh. The trucks came and on June twenty-sixth I took over the truck on E.C.W. work. I was transferred to Hays then. I worked there a few weeks and then I was transferred over here. After a few days, I was sent to Belton in Glacier Park with fourteen others to cut posts. We cut from sixteen to seventeen thousand posts for the reservation. When we got back here, they gave us a fifteen per cent cut to $106.25 a month. Last spring we got back a five per cent cut and they kept on raising us up until about two months ago they raised us back to our one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Last month they cut us down to ninety dollars and this month down to forty-five dollars.

"I don't know what I am going to do now. I was getting along pretty good. You need a car to go places after you work hard all day. I bought a Ford last April for seven hundred and thirty-five dollars and I still owe two hundred dollars on it. I also bought a washing machine for my wife. It's a Maytag, large size, and it cost me one hundred and forty-two dollars. I built a house down the river and the material cost me over one hundred and forty dollars. I was going to give it a paint job this fall, but I guess it'll have to stay the way it is. The house has hardwood floors, shingled roof and a good frame construction. I had never done any carpentering in my life; yet, I built it all by myself in the fall of 1932. Jerry Walker rented that house from me at six dollars a month. I guess they'll have a council meeting soon and I am afraid they'll fix it at sixty dollars a month and I can't pay my debts on that. We signed up for one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month.

"I don't just drive the truck; I get out and work with the men. I believe in work and hard work. In rip-rapping a dam, the men will throw the rocks in any way. I tell them, 'Hold on, fellows, unless you do a decent job,they will make us do the job all over again.'

"Bart and myself, just the two of us, will load two loads in the morning and three in the afternoon. We'll dig and load them ourselves and riprap the dam.

"Bill Allen and Christine Bell will just dig two loads of rocks all day, yet we'll dig them ourselves and load five loads of rocks in one day and we are not supposed to do that. McGrath, the boss, wants us to work with the fellows, yet we are supposed to get paid for just driving the truck. What's a fellow to do? No, I always did work. I never boss the men. If they don't want to work, it's up to them. I do my work. If I don't work with them, no work will be done. We have to set an example to the other fellows. If we loaf around, the fellows will loaf around. It gets on my nerves to see people loafing and taking their time working. I like to get things done. Work and get it over with. George Bull Shoe, a full-blood of forty-six, is always trying to get out of work. The only sort of job he wants is one where he can do plenty of bossing. He doesn't work at present and he lives on the rations of his father, Bull Shoe. George is married and has four children, but he hasn't learned to work yet and I just wonder if it isn't too late now."

Harry represented one of the "progressive set" at Lodgepole. Having a likable personality and being considered as an index of "white industry," he was able to do much to accentuate white trends during the time that he spent on the reservation. His wife had the same amount of influence with the younger people. Year after year she had been elected president of the Lodgepole's Woman's Club, and in the care of children, cooking and dressmaking she had done much to change the picture of cultural disintegration to one approximating conditions among the whites around the reservation. When Harry's wages were reduced, many of the younger people said, "What good does it do to work hard; you don't get anything out of it. Look at Harry. There isn't a harder working fellow anywhere than him. All he gets for his efforts is a cut in wages." This reaction was soon observed by Mr. Elliott, the superintendent, and within a few weeks after my conversation with Harry, he was offered a position as a truckdriver on P.W.A. at one hundred and twenty-five dollars a month. With proper tact, Harry formed an initiator of many of the white behavior patterns brought into the reservation.

At the same time, Harry's attitude towards debts was shared by many of the Indians. Being aware that to be judged well by the whites, meant the prompt payment of debts and that this payment at times meant the preserving of their pride, yet, ofttimes, they had neither the money to pay

their debts, nor money to buy food and other necessities. They were conscious of this anxiety to be thought well of, yet the need of having a few comforts outweighed the anxiety. Harry had been in debt to the Lake Mercantile Company of Harlem for the sum of fifty dollars. Before he could pay for this debt from his higher wages (he had contracted the debt while working for two dollars a day), the proprietor of the store became impatient and insisted upon immediate payment. Harry's credit was stopped and due to his sensitivity, he has both refused to pay the debt and to patronize the store again. "I knew that I had to pay this debt and that fellow knew that I would pay him. It made me feel like a criminal not to have my word taken and it made me feel kind of low, because of worry. I decided that if he wouldn't trust me, it was just too bad for him. That's the only debt that I haven't paid and my credit is pretty good at the other stores."

Resume of Present-Day Assiniboine Culture

Few remnants of the institutionalized aboriginal culture remian among the mixed-bloods. Jake Walsh, a half-blood of sixty-three, who was raised by full-bloods, and Bill Crasco, a half-blood of forty-five, also raised by full-bloods are the two outstanding exceptions. Jake Walsh was the master of ceremonies at the Sun Dance on July fourth and is what is generally termed a "professional Indian." Jake likes to impress others with his Indian identity, as, for example, the time he told me that one of the dancers at the Sun Dance had fainted, because of the presence of a menstruating white woman from Harlem. Among the full-bloods, Jake has a reputation for lying. Thus, Sam King disliked to have Jake as an interpreter because of the feeling that the remarks interpreted would be Jake's, rather than Sam's. Jake Walsh, at the same time, was the individual spoken of who had ordered his brother-in-law from his house, since he was "fed up" supporting relatives. Bill Crasco, although the foreman on E.C.W. and similar in many ways to those in the mixed-blood group, was the only mixed-blood who sang and drummed at the Hand-Games at Lodgepole.

In sum, no medicine man, or shaman, has existed on the reservation for the past ten years. No Indian marriages, or divorces, were made since 1920. With the exceptions of the Sun Dance, which was revived about seven years ago, the Hand Games and the Owl Dance and the Grass Dances, no other ceremonial parts of the aboriginal culture remain. With the exception of the full-bloods over sixty years of age, English is the language spoken and understood by the majority of the residents on the reservation; all these being able to read and write. Births are at hospitals, or at home with a nurse and physician generally in attendance. In the main, the feeling is had that the present-day culture on the reservation is almost a result of the self-consciousness of most of the individuals in regard to their Indian blood.

The in-law taboos are still kept on the reservation, but these almost entirely by the full-bloods. Thus as Simon Firstshoot, my interpreter put it:

> "Dick King is my first wife's uncle, therefore he is my father-in-law. Now Dick King acts like a white man, so we talk together and act the way whites do. On the other hand, Mollie's (his wife) father is old fashioned, therefore we don't talk together and don't have anything to do with one another.
>
> "Russell Young's mother and my wife's mother were cousins. His mother died and my mother-in-law raised him, therefore he is a brother-in-law of mine.
>
> "The younger people see white people talk to their mother-in-law and father-in-law and sons-in-law. The whites are civilized, therefore the younger people do that. The older people don't look upon the younger people as good men or women, because they violate the behavior of the tribe. The Assiniboine are not supposed to mention their father-in-law's or their mother-in-law's names. If any old Assiniboine hears you mention their names, he will come and pinch your ear as punishment. The same thing is true of the father-in-law. If he mentions his son-in-law's name, someone will pinch his ear. They still do that whenever they get a chance, but this is only true of the old people. Among the Assiniboine, if I have a brother or sister, they can't speak to my father-in-law, or mother-in-law. You can kid your brother-in-law about little things, but not anything that has to do with sexual matters. That last has changed now, because the younger people are joshing their brothers-in-law about their sexual things, like 'clap' 'big penis' and so forth.
>
> "Now your sister-in-law is a woman and has a husband. When a woman has a husband, you have to respect

her. My sisters-in-law josh me terrible. A man doesn't josh as bad as a woman does.

"Herbert Fish is my brother-in-law and his wife is my granddaughter. You see, Returning Hunter is her grandfather and he is my cousin. Well, I can't josh Herbert, my brother-in-law, because of my granddaughter. Now if Herbert married a woman who was no relation to me, I might consider her as a sister or a cousin. Russell Young's wife is a Gros Ventre and no relationship to me, but just the same I took her as a sister. She knows it and that's why she took me as her brother. The brother-in-law and sister-in-law stuff are still kept on by some of the full-bloods for the fun there is in it, and I think that it will continue for some time to come.

"Now this is something interesting. The half-bloods and the quarter-bloods live up to the brother-in-law and the sister-in-law, but not the father-in-law and the mother-in-law taboos. Bill Crasco, a half-blood, lives up to the old customs, but he was brought up by Indians. His cousins, the McIntyres, were brought up by a white man and they're different!"

Concerning the brother-in-law taboo still existent on the reservation, my feeling was that it was not carefully observed among those forty years of age and younger. The bantering is generally good-natured, although at times, it can be insulting. When I first met Russell James, in company with Simon, Russell turned to me and said, "This is Chief-One-Smoke. He is the tightest and stingiest Indian I ever saw. He's always bumming somebody for one smoke, because he's too tight to spend a nickel for a package of Bull Durham. If I were you, I'd take to smoking a pipe, when this fellow is around. He'll stick around you as long as your cigarettes last. And say, I like you and I'm going to give you a tip. Don't believe a word this fellow tells you. He's the biggest liar around here. We're wise to him and you'd better be the same, else he'll fill you with the worst lies and fairy tales you ever heard of." While this was going on, Simon had a big grin on his face. Later I asked Simon what would happen if he had become angry while his brother-in-law was telling me these things. His reply was that of surprise; that he couldn't become angry; others would laugh at him.

Simon Firstshoot, a first rate observer, would often talk about the disappearance of the aboriginal patterns. He would note the phenomenon that, although no whites were living about Lodgepole, the younger children always spoke English among themselves and never Assiniboine. Among most of the mixed-bloods and many of the younger full-bloods, Assiniboine was not well understood; the latter speaking English to the older people who spoke to them in Assiniboine. Simon's little daughter, Rita, age five, in playing with her kitten was heard to say in English, "I like you so much, I'm going to give you a big hug and a big kiss." All of Simon's children spoke English among themselves and interestingly enough, Simon used English in addressing his children. Assiniboine was often used in speaking to his wife, Mollie, but during most of the time that I spent in their home, English tended to be the common medium.

An attitude that has been growing on the reservation has been that of "individualism." Mention has been made of Jake Walsh's refusal to support his brother-in-law. One case that was brought to my attention while at Lodgepole was that of the friction existing between Mrs. Tom Thinker, a full-blood woman of sixty, and her son-in-law, Tom Bell, a half-blood of forty-five. For about five months, Mrs. Thinker has been trying to get her son-in-law and his family out of her house. She threatened a law suit against her son-in-law for using one of her teams to plow up some of his hay land. He insisted that the team was given him by Tom Thinker, before the latter died. Not being able to speak to her son-in-law, she has been appealing to the police to get him out of her house, since he is using property that belongs to her. The policeman at Lodgepole refused to take a hand in this, since he felt that it was a domestic quarrel. At the same time, Mrs. Thinker refused to allow any of her food to be used by her son-in-law and his family, insisting that he supply himself with his own food. The tendency has been growing on the reservation for the young people to stand on their own feet upon marriage, "sponging" being now disliked by the others. That the attitude was in evidence was seen in the manner in which those with automobiles refused to take passengers, unless part of the gasoline and oil were paid for. At Lodgepole, the price for being taken to the agency, some forty miles away, was two dollars for the round trip and refusals were made when free passage was asked. An exception to this was Robert Green, who, for political reasons, was compelled to act as host for the Lodgepole population when they made visits to the river. Robert had been helped by many of the Indians to receive his post as assis-

tant forester, at seventeen hundred dollars a year. These now felt Robert to be under obligation to them. At the same time, Green was anxious to become the Indian superintendent and to run for councils and to be elected to delegations going to Washington. Were he to refuse his hospitality, his political chances would be dimmed by not having enough friends to support him.

As Simon stated to me, little remains of the old culture, even with the old people:

> "There are just thirteen Assiniboine at Lodgepole who take part in the Indian dances. There are thirty-one Assiniboine down the river who will take part in these dances and keep up the old way of life. That's just forty-four Assiniboine who like to think they are continuing the old way of life.
>
> "Up until 1918, all the old people were living and quite a bit of the old way of life was continuing. Up until about 1910, the Indians didn't care for white doctors. They had all sorts of medicines of their own. Nowadays they go to clinics and whenever they get sick, they call for the doctor and the nurse. Most of them have no objection to going to hospitals. The reason for that is that the old people with the medicines have died out. The younger people have no way of finding out what the medicines are. They have to buy them and no Indian wants to give it to them. The younger generation know no one to go to, so if they want to get well they have to go to the agency doctor and the field nurse. The old people over seventy have no confidence in white doctors. Fellows around my age and younger know that the hospital is the best place to go when you are sick. We know what the doctors can do. Take Viola, my daughter. She was operated for appendicitis and is now well. The same thing is true of gall stones. Why, if there were no doctors to go to, look how many of the Indians would have died. There isn't a single Indian midwife left; all of the younger women go to the hospital to give birth to their babies. The older women didn't like to have white doctors around them, because they were men, either at sickness, or during childbirth."

No birth control appliances had come in as yet in great numbers, although many of the younger people knew what they were. Thus, Joan Harris told me that she had often wished that her lover, Joe Weaselhead would use them, in order that she be spared the birth of an illegitimate child every year. There were various medicines of roots and other concoctions used by some of the women as birth preventatives. There were those taken internally, or those inserted in the vagina. One such concoction had been for Joan by Mrs. Bow, but little happened, outside of much vomiting and stomach distress. Those taken internally were supposed to cause miscarriages.

Marriages were mainly in the church or at county courthouses. The standard of beauty was beginning to approach that of the whites on the outside. Simon Firstshoot declared that character and a presentable appearance were more important than good looks. "Ike Yellow Coat's mother-in-law can't get married again , because she is mean and no one wants her. If a woman has a little property, she will be in demand by the younger people. If a man is well off and has plenty of property of his own, he will marry a girl for her good looks. They even did that in the old days. Nowadays a man wants a woman to be a good cook. There are quite a few cases where a man is forced to marry a woman by the police because the girl he runs around with has a child by him. No man would marry Joan Harris. She has too many children and no man wants to support someone else's children. And then she runs around with Joe Weaselhead without any shame; you couldn't trust a woman like that."

> "There isn't much difference between the Presbyterians and the Catholics on this reservation, although the majority of the Indians are Catholics. And it makes no difference in marriage what religion your girl is. Ethel Crasco is a Catholic, yet she married Bill who isn't a Catholic. Joe Williams is Presbyterian, but his wife Juanita is a Catholic and all of his children go to the Catholic church. Even Crasco's children go to the Catholic church, although this summer, Mrs. Crasco sent her children to the Presbyterian mission to attend Bible school.
>
> "A lot of the Indians don't like the Catholic church because the church doesn't grant a divorce and allow remarriage. Lee Wing was married to Isabelle Walking Chief in the Catholic faith. They are now separated and they want a divorce. Weasel and his wife were Catholics, but they got a divorce and remarried.
>
> "They go to the county courts at Chinook, or Malta to get their divorces. It generally costs them

about sixty dollars for lawyers and other fees. Jim Walking Chief and Elsie Healey got a divorce at Chinook. Elsie got that divorce on the grounds of cruelty.

"Beating of wives is pretty common. Charlie Schmidt beats his wife pretty often. Eddie Devereaux beat up his wife at the fair at Hays when there were plenty of people about. There are plenty that I could name that beat their wives, but it's mostly among the younger people and the mixed-bloods."

The church-going habit on the reservation was little in evidence, attendance being mainly at funerals, since no Assiniboine feels that death has been properly sanctified without the presence of a priest, or minister at the cemetery:

"The Catholic church got Indian followers even before 1886. Father Eberschweiler was a witness to the Indian agreement of 1887. For the last few years, the number of Catholic Indians has gone down. The younger generation doesn't take much interest in religion. Now old Many Coos is a Catholic, but for the past few years Many Coos has not gone to church; he doesn't believe in it any more. Paul Two Kill and Andrew White Horse and their wives go to church every Sunday. The Indians are getting tired of the Catholic services. One time they used to take great interest in the church services and the main leaders of the Indians, like Stiffarm, liked to go to church and these used even to induce the other Indians to follow them. Since Stiffarm died, there has been nobody to take his place. Paul Two Kill used to go around notifying the people to come to church and he even helped organize the St. Joseph's Society (abolished by the Indians during the past spring, due to a decrease in membership). The St. Joseph's Society used to have wood ready for the church and they were a great help to the missionaries. Paul Two Kill used to get the people to meet the priest. But now, the old Catholic Indians have died off. The younger generation takes no interest in either the Presbyterians, or the Catholics. The Indians just go to church in large numbers at Christmas time, for the tree and the presents. Peter Wing never went to church and he has influence to keep a lot of Indians away. Henry Chopwood (the Lodgepole policeman) never went to church although his wife and children do.

"Drinking, rodeos and dances have been attracting a lot of the Indian children away from the church. At rodeos these cowboys use profane language and the kids think it great to be able to talk like that. The church services are not interesting enough and the Indians get greater enjoyment from the fairs that take place almost every week. Even the boys that went to school at St. Paul's mission have never gone to school and never will. The Gros Ventre are different. They have always been around the St. Paul's mission and almost all of them go to church."

Feasts are still given among many of the full-bloods a few days after the funeral of a child but never for a parent, nor wife.

No feasts are given at marriages, nor are presents given by the relatives of the betrothed pair. Marriage is considered the personal affair of the individuals about to marry. The pattern of white engagements has not come in on the reservation as yet, even among the mixed bloods.

That even the older full-bloods have been much affected by white culture was evidenced in a dream had by Returning Hunter, in which he visited the after world to see his wife and son. The means of conveyance was a cloud, the interior of which was furnished exactly the way an expensive automobile would be. The cloud's interior even had a steering wheel!

Chiefs have long since disappeared on the reservation; the last was The Male, or Nosey, who died at Lodgepole in 1906. An interesting phenomenon was that I met no one, who even referred to himself as a chief. The members of the council had taken the place of the chiefs, with none of the status and prestige accorded the latter.

Law and Order

The legal code on the reservation was a mixture of federal statutes and common-law based upon reservation culture. Law enforcement was by two policemen and one judge, all three appointed by the superintendent. The court met every other week in the basement of the agency and decisions were given out by the Indian judge, after the evidence had been given by the arresting policeman and the defense. For the first time, an English speaking judge was appointed during my summer's stay, John Buckman, a Gros Ventre of sixty-three. The pay of the judge averaged about $25.00 per month and that of the policemen was $60.00 per month for the agency district and

and $45.00 per month for the policeman in the Lodgepole district. Unlike the policeman at the agency district, who received a government car, the policeman at Lodgepole had to furnish his own means of transportation.

Lizziam Archambeau, the agency policeman, also the chief of police, covered the entire reservation, in order to make arrests. Henry Chopwood, the policeman at Lodgepole, covered the district around Lodgepole, also acting in the capacity of assistant to the farmer in the giving out of seeds and the issuing of lease checks.

Being sentenced to jail offered no hardship to the individuals thus punished. Due to fear of fire, the frame structure that housed the jail was never locked, with the result that prisoners could always leave the jail house during the evening to attend a show or a dance in Harlem, four and a half miles westward. The food was good, as were the sleeping quarters, and the most difficult part of the work of being jailer was the eviction of non-prisoners in the morning. Often, young men, after an evening at Harlem, would come to the jail in order to get a night's sleep, leaving in the morning for their homes. Going to jail involved no shame or disgrace on the part of the residents of the reservation who had spent some time there. Going to jail merely involved being sentenced to do some work about the hospital, or around the agency, for freedom belonged to the prisoner to do as he pleased with his time, after working hours. These spare hours could either be spent outside or inside the jail, the main proviso being that the individual should at least sleep there. Often, sentence would not start until the individual was through haying. The laxity of the jail system was a constant irritation to the chief of police and to many of the Indians who had the feeling that there should be some punishment attached to a sentence, in order to lessen the attractiveness of a stay at the jail.

The qualifications and the duties of an Indian judge were best stated in a letter from the Assistant Commissioner, J. H. Scattergood on October 11, 1930, concerning the opening up of the reservation court to outside attorneys:

> "Generally speaking, the ordinary Indian reservation courts are presided over by full-bloods who are appointed to their positions by reason of their experience in tribal matters and the respect in which they are held by the fellow members of their tribe. These Indian judges have no knowledge of statutory law but base their decisions upon the Indian sense of justice as to what should or should not be done under the circumstances of a particular case. It is apparent that to permit attorneys to appear before these primitive tribunals would tend to confuse the Indian judges and in no way assist them in the duties of their office. Of course, in the State and Federal courts Indians should be and are represented by attorneys, regularly employed or appointed by the court, but in a Tribal Court of Indian offenses we are unable to see any advantage that might arise from the efforts of attorneys in the administration of Indian justice, which is based on the Indian's idea of justice, rather than on our (the white man's) statutory law."

An analysis of all the police court cases from 1919 until 1935 reveals the following types of cases brought within the jurisdiction of the court:

Drunkenness	184
Fighting	40
Adultery	35
Civil Cases (over property)	10
Immoral Conduct	32
Stealing	33
Wife Beating	14
Vagrancy	3
Kidnapping Girls	3
Attempted Rape	3
Eloping with some man's wife	4
Contempt of court	3
Peddling Whiskey	3
Breaking Jail	2
Smoking Marijuana	1
Attempt to Murder	1
Prostitution	1
Girls Warned	2
Disturbing Peace	4

Like statutory law the distinction between adultery and immoral conduct was in the marital status of the culprit. If married, the charge was adultery; if unmarried the charge of immoral conduct was leveled. Eloping with other men's wives was another variant that had a basis in the aboriginal culture. A decision could be made on any case, thus bringing the decision into the status of common law. Any type of behavior felt to be wrong, either by the agency, or by the judge, could easily be codified into law.

A random sampling of the various types of cases brought into this court with their decisions follow, all being taken from the agency court records as written by the chief of police:

1) Drunkenness. "Frank Man was charged

with drunkenness. He claimed he found the half-pint in a toilet behind the Ford Garage in Harlem. Sentenced to thirty days in jail."

"John B. Shortman arrested for drunkenness. He was found drunk near the road to the school. Said he found one pint of whiskey near the fair grounds which he drank. Sentenced to thirty days in jail. Served fifteen days and allowed to go home. Will serve remainder in the fall."

2) Fighting. "Mrs. Tom Perry and Mrs. Wm. Snell charged with fighting at George Rock's Wednesday, August sixth. Both were found guilty but they promised to forgive one another and be friendly."

"Charlie Bear and Susie Bear appeared before Judge Jones on a charge of fighting and quarreling. Judge instructed that they be separated for six months on good behavior. Sentence suspended for six months. When the six months are up they are to appear before Superintendent Shotwell."

"Clarkson Mane and Abel Hopkins guilty of fighting near Savoy Day School. Both pleaded guilty and said the matter was settled satisfactorily. Hopkins agreed to give Mane two loads of hay for posts sold Hopkins by Mane. Admonished to be more careful in the future.

2) Adultery. "Synopsis: Mr. Wind Chief testified that Mrs. Wind Chief had been going frequently to Judge's place and Henry Lodge's. Asked her not to for children's sake. She said she was free to do as she liked. She told Henry Lodge she was going to find work after a while. Last Tuesday she went to Lodge's and he followed and found her and the Judge alone. He does not want to separate. Will however take up the case with the councilmen. Mrs. Wind Chief said she was at Lodge's to assist Mrs. Lodge. Judge came to talk to Mr. Lodge about his daughter. She says Wind Chief is hard to get along with and does not want her to wear decent clothes. Does not support her. Judge Speak Thunder said he started to mountains to see Anna Big Snow who was ill. Met George Blackbird and turned back. Mrs. Lodge reported Willie Shields was mistreating his wife and he went to Lodge's to speak about it. Wind Chief arrived soon after he did. Did not know that Wind Chief was jealous. Did not know anyone was suspicious of him. Said he had been a judge for twelve years, disposed of many cases. Expects to resign, but is not guilty of the charges. Is willing to be tried and if found guilty to be punished.

"Mr. Jones said the pair met about a year ago over the river bridge. Only general talk however. No certain knowledge.

"Mr. King said that he did not know of any trouble. Wind Chief is old and unable to work, which makes hard feelings between husband and wife. Regards Mrs. Wind Chief as a "virtuous woman."

"Mrs. Olive Wind Chief on September 24 eloped with Judge Louis Speak Thunder. The two went to Browning where they stayed fourteen days. During this time they lived together. After the fourteen days they returned to the agency where they were arrested for adultery and eloping.

"The Indian Court found these two guilty of adultery and eloping and sentenced them both to ninety days in jail, sentence to start November the first. Both were admonished to keep away from one another. Sentence was made by the new judge, Richard Jones."

Another elopement took place while I was at Lodgepole. Joe Walkslow, the policeman at Lodgepole became intoxicated one night and ran off with Charlie Schmidt's wife. The two travelled to Browning in Joe's car and stayed there about three weeks. Both returned and gave themselves up to the police. Joe lost his job and was sentenced to thirty days in jail. The fear had been expressed that Charlie Schmidt would kill Joe, since Charlie had served a prison sentence for killing a man on the reservation. Nothing happened, however, I did notice that Joe kept away from Lodgepole, spending his time along the river. Joe, about fifty years of age, had been married to a woman about five years older. Compared to Mrs. Schmidt she was unprogressive and unattractive, being a plodding type of woman. Mrs. Schmidt had frequently left her husband because of beatings received, always returning to him, however. Rumor at Lodgepole had it that Charlie was the father of two children born to his wife's sister, who was unmarried. Sympathy in this case was extended to Mrs. Ohlerking by Lodgepole social opinion; none was extended to Joe Walkslow, since he had had many affairs with other women, among them being the almost blind, trachoma-ridden wife of Oscar Gray. Mrs. Walkslow received some sympathy since it had begun to look as if her husband had permanently separated from her.

I met Joe in the streets of Harlem, while he was serving his jail sentence. I happened to ask him why he ran off with Mrs. Schmidt. "I don't know. I can't explain it. I couldn't stand the life around here, that's all. I left without knowing what I was doing. I am damned ashamed of myself now, but I guess we all make mistakes and think we are going to learn afterwards. You can see for yourself that the only thing that an Indian can do around here is to run off with somebody's wife. On the reservation you can't do anything and you can't go anywhere. All you do is work for your board and room."

Drunkenness is very common on the reservation. It is safe to say that not more than one-twentieth of the drunkenness cases are ever arrested. As a rule the culprit is warned to go home. If the warning is not heeded, an arrest is made. Having only two policemen on the reservation, the numbers that pass by unnoticed easily form the majority of the total. I counted seven Indians drunk in Harlem one Saturday night; none of these were apprehended by the police. At a dance given for me at Lodgepole there were a number of drunks hanging around the outside of the hall. And at the dances given at Hays, the policeman's job is full of warnings to the drunks to go home and sleep it off. No regular policeman was stationed at Hays, since it was the agency policeman's work to come down whenever dances were given. At other times calls had to be made to the agency telling of various disturbances. Boredom was responsible for most of the drunkenness cases on the reservation; boredom, release from repressions and the bravado that went with liquor, bravado that meant much to shy individuals.

A problem of growing importance was that of the amateur gang spirit developing among many of the young people. These became drunk in an attempt to get into the "follow-the-leader" spirit. But four years previous a murder had been committed on the reservation by a gang of boys who got drunk and killed one of their own numbers for informing as to the whereabouts of a liquor still. With each year the number of young men roaming in gangs around the settlements has been increasing. With the increase of these gangs went an increase in the number of "True Detective," "Gangsters" and other magazines of that ilk sold at the various grocery stores on the reservation.

Among the girls, an appreciable amount of illicit intercourse was by no means rare. It was interesting to me to see the magazines in the home of Joan Harris, the mistress of Joe Weaselhead and other young men. "Snappy Stories," "Spicy Tales," "True Story" and "True Romances" were the magazines most often sold to the young girls.

But one prostitute existed on the reservation: Alice Smith of Hays, a young quarter-blood Gros Ventre who had been once adopted by a white school teacher on the reservation, who, as soon as she had grown up, left his wife and ran off with Alice. She returned to the reservation a few years ago and has plied her trade among the boys at the E.C.W. camp at Hays.

Alice had been arrested but once during her stay on the reservation and that was for prostitution. The case, although short, is dramatically written:

> "January 8. Maryan McGuire--charged with disturbing the peace in the town of Hays by breaking into the home of Mrs. Alice Smith. Found guilty as charged and sentenced to thirty days suspended sentence and one year probation.
>
> "Jones McGuire--defendant, charged with being in Mrs. Smith's house when Mrs. McGuire was trying to break in. Found guilty as charged. Thirty days suspended sentence and one year probation.
>
> "Alice Smith charged with having Jones McGuire in her house. Found guilty and sentenced to thirty days suspended sentence and one year probation."

The defendant in the above case, Jones McGuire, was arrested during the Gros Ventre fair for being in an automobile with a young fifteen year old girl, trying to get her intoxicated.

Another case brought up before the court was a domestic quarrel based upon jealousy. The report on the case was written by Newton Strike, then chief of police:

> "On October 5, William Adams told his wife, Lucille Flynn Adams she could have her car back as he had it long enough, but they must take him home first. So Lucille and her cousin, Anna Clark, went with Buster to but a couple of miles from his home and he changed his mind, so Lucille told Buster to take them back to the agency and he could keep the car a while longer. So Buster turned around and started for the agency with the girls. On the way back Buster kept raging on about his wife and other men. He got a few miles from the agency and

told the girls they could walk the rest of the say. The girls got out and started to walk and he jumped out after them and chased them. He caught Lucille and struck her and slashed her throat and he left two long slashes on her left arm. Then he started to run away but Anna caught him and told him Lucille was bleeding badly and for him to take her to the hospital. So he helped her in his car. Instead, he took her to Dr. Hamilton's hospital in Dodson. On October 6, a report came to Mr. Shotwell that Buster and his wife and a car wreck and that Lucille had her head and face cut up badly. The doctor had to take eighteen stitches. Mr. Shotwell sent me down to check up on it. I went right down to Dodson to Dr. Hamilton. Mrs. Hamilton said the doctor was at the hospital. I asked her what had happened and she said the doctor will tell you all about it. So I went to the hospital. Dr. Hamilton was dressing Lucille then. I walked in and looked at the cuts and I knew that wasn't a car wreck. Lucille was out (unconscious). I asked Anna who did it and she said Buster. I went out and phoned Mr. Shotwell and he told me to put Buster under arrest, so I looked for him. Found him in Ed. Griffin's rooming house. I told him I wanted him. He began to cuss the luck and himself. I brought him on to the agency and then on to the courthouse in Chinook.

"On the way to the agency he didn't talk much. All I asked him was what did you do with the knife. He said, "I threw it away just as far as I could." He would cuss himself and the luck, cuss himself for what he had done. He also said, "I'll take anything they give me. I'll take life or anything." When we got to Chinook the under sheriff asked him if he wanted to make any arrangements for bonds. He said he didn't need any. When I was coming away he told me to tell his folks to bring him some clean clothes as his other clothes were all bloody."

Lucille soon recovered and William Adams was sentenced to a jail term at the county jail. Both these individuals were half-bloods.

Another interesting case was that of Ambrose Rider and Mike Blue Horse arrested for smoking marijuana:

"Both were found guilty. Rider claims he bought a cigarette for 50¢ at the New England Hotel on April 18, which contained dope of some kind. It was Rider that induced Mike to buy one--Judge claims it was just as bad as if they had whiskey in their possession. Mike came right out and told the truth about the affair while Rider was not so free with his information. Rider was given thirty days while Blue Horse was put on probation for six months."

Another case had to do with Leo Flea taking a horse without permission from Iron Man. Leo rode the horse to such an extent that the horse died. An agreement was reached in which Leo promised Iron Man another horse in return at the next round-up.

A case in which marriage was the result of arrest was the following:

"Jennie Cliff and Josephine Bracelet. Jennie charged with running with Takes The Bow for three years and Josephine charged with running with White Cow for one year.

"Sentence: Girls said they are willing to marry the boys. They are to work at the hospital as prisoners until the marriages take place."

One of the cases listed as "stealing" was that of Dan Johnson. Dan stole a revolver from the agency vault and sold it to George Long Knife for three dollars. The sentence accorded Dan was light in comparison. He was sentenced to fourteen days at the agency jail.

A group of boys had broken in at a pool hall at Hays. All were found guilty and sentenced to fourteen days of hard labor on the agency roads. One was allowed to be taken home, on the promise of the father to punish him.

In analysing most of the cases found in the agency court record, certain tentative conclusions can be made. Concerning drunkenness, no individual above sixty years of age has been found drinking. The number of drunkenness cases decreases the further back the records are used. Medicine Boy was the only full-blood over sixty who used liquor.

The number of court cases has been increasing during the past five years, these mainly for drunkenness and "immoral conduct."

The proportion of full-bloods and mixed-bloods arrested for various infractions seems to be about the same. However, it had been my feeling that the mixed-bloods on the reservation generally were in less trouble with the police than the full-bloods. From the point of view of violence, little

difference exists.

During the past few years there has been a good deal of drunkenness cases among young boys and girls. There are many of fifteen and sixteen who have been seen drunk on the reservation. At the same time, it is comparatively easy for these young people to receive beer at the saloons in Harlem. I have seen many of the young people openly receive beer at the bars in Harlem. Two men from the reservation, drunk, attempted to buy me a glass of beer in Harlem, with no questions asked by the bar-tender. Whiskey is often had from the state liquor store in Harlem through white friends. It is difficult to cut down drunkenness on the reservation as long as the streets in Harlem and the nearby towns are filled with drunks each Saturday night. On some Saturday nights, it is dangerous walking through the town streets because of the number of brawling drunks, hands from nearby ranches.

From the point of view of the increasing amount of illegitimacy existent on the reservation, little can be done unless proper amusements are found for the young people. Due to the differences in culture, the parents have little control over their young. There are few amusements on the reservation for young people who spend most of their time in idleness. Due to the cramped condition of the log cabins, the girls can only meet boys in automobiles or in the open fields around the dance halls. In an attempt to escape strict parental supervision and boredom at home, many of the girls will grasp at any opportunity that will take them away from home for a few days. The surprising thing to me under these conditions is not that a certain amount of delinquency exists, but that more does not exist. No lectures are given by the parents to the young girls, parental control being limited to keeping the girls home under all conditions.

An interesting case was brought to me at the time of my leaving the reservation. A sixteen year old girl had run away from home and her parents were frantic with worry. The father had never allowed his daughter to go to dances, nor to attend movies, nor to leave the cabin, under any conditions at night. The girl had spent all of her time at home reading, or walking around the cabin. Outside of a few visits from girls of neighboring allotments there was nothing to occupy her time. And since few of the families on the reservation owned cars, it was considered a treat to be able to escape parental supervision by being invited for an automobile ride by some of the young men.

At the same time, due to the poverty of most of the young men, marriage offered no happy end. Marriage in itself was unattractive, for it meant children and living with parents, or living in some small log-cabin similar in form to the ones of their parents. Unlike white communities, having a home and children meant misery and toil to the Assiniboine girls. Not one of the young girls to whom I spoke had the feeling of marriage as their goal and end. Most of them wanted to become clerks, or nurses, or to get into some work where they could earn money for clothes. Among many of the young women, such as Joan Harris, it made little difference whether one was married or not; little status was lost in being an unmarried mother. Joan, with her four illegitimate children, was assistant leader of the girl's 4H Club and treasurer of the Lodge Pole Woman's Club. At the dances at Lodgepole, Joan was more in demand as a dancing partner than many of the other girls. At the same time, Joan had many women friends from the vicinity of Lodgepole and none by their behavior even hinted that she had lost status. The main reaction against Joan was from the older people, who felt that someone should support her children. Joan's only disadvantage was that marriage would now be out of the question, since few of the young men on the reservation would attempt to support four children not theirs. No disadvantages would be felt by her children, since there was no reaction as such against illegitimate children. In one case, at Beaver Creek, a young girl lived openly with her lover under the parental roof, with no response from the parent, who was rumored to be doing the same thing.

Education

In enumerating the various factors that were responsible for transforming the aboriginal culture into the various cultures previously listed as existent on the reservation, the most important causal one tends to be the school system developed with the opening of the reservation. Leaving out of consideration all moral judgments as to whether a change in culture was good or bad, the fact still remains that the old boarding school can be singled out as one factor of most importance responsible for the decline of the aboriginal culture. If the purpose of the boarding school had been that of weaning the young away from the culture of their parents, then the policy could be termed definitely successful. If its purpose had been to train its charges to take their places in a white culture alien to their parents, then the end result could be termed moderately successful.

Despite various criticisms heaped upon the boarding school, credit must at least be given it for having made possible some sort of adjustment on the part of the young full-blood to the alien cultures that surrounded him on all sides.

In all scientific fairness, the culture of the Assiniboine was doomed with the final extinction of the buffalo and the end of tribal warfare. The economic organization of the aboriginal culture was shattered and the remaining parts of the culture could become but subsidiary to the new economic organization surrounding it. The boarding school did introduce an alien culture to the young, a culture that was to have much effect on their growing lives. The boarding school, in principle, did no psychological harm. It prevented the formation of two separate worlds in the mind of the student, the confusion of two cultures existing side by side, by preventing the child from absorbing forms of one culture while at school and the other at home, after school. By keeping the child isolated from his parents for long periods of time, it had much to do with the assimilating of many patterns of white culture on the part of the child, the result being obvious in the individuals under sixty years of age, who attended boarding school from one to five years. That complete assimilation was not possible was due to the few years spent in school. The result of a few years of training at Carlisle was enough to stamp many of the reservation individuals for life. Where criticism can be leveled against the boarding school was in the strictness of discipline, the lack of adequate instruction and in the mediocrity of teachers. Shy and frightened children, having little contact with whites, had their introversion accentuated by the harshness of a discipline that they could not understand. Competition was overly developed, with the result that the children felt insecure in their own abilities. Trades, such as tailoring, shoe-making, harness-making and so forth, were taught that served no practical benefit after the termination of schooling. Aboriginal patterns held by the child were so ridiculed that the child soon adopted the white contempt for these and, where the child had finished schooling, found an alienness in those patterns that divoreed him from the culture of his parents.

The repressions formed in school days could be of little psychological harm were the repressions released in later years. But with the continuous experimentation in economic affairs and the confused state of mind resulting in those being experimented upon, the rebelliousness that had been built up in earlier years was soon transformed into emotional discontent, rationalized into various petty complaints for the educational system formed the main means through which the culture of the whites was being introduced into the reservation. By the teaching of English alone, the schools broke down much of the barrier that existed between the whites and the Indians.

In sum, the boarding school, and this included the mission school as well as the government school, was responsible in part for the gradual break down of the native culture. The part that the school played was definitely noticeable in the differences existing between Simon Firstshoot, my interpreter, and Medicine Boy, one of my informants, since only a few years in age existed between them(1). Simon's ability to speak English and to read and write enabled him to come into intimate contact with whites, while Medicine Boy has had little contact, due to lack of common ground and common language; interestingly enough, the culture of the parents of both were the same.

While criticism has been leveled against the boarding school, it must not be assumed, as it has been by many, that the boarding school served little use, or that criticism of this type of school implied instruction and time wasted. The boarding school was purely an experimental phase in the attempt to adjust children to an inevitable culture and as such was as successful as could be expected. True, with better instructors and better equipment, along with more liberal policies, a greater success could have been made, but in the initial stage of reservation formation, children needed to be taken from their parents, in order that as few of the remnants of the aboriginal culture be transferred, were that the end goal. At the same time, some adjustment needed to be made to new economic patterns. It was unfortunate that from the point of view of personality adjustment, little effort was made to make the school satisfying to the young or that little effort was made by reservation policies to continue the drives inculcated by these schools. The schools were responsible for culture change after 1890, although it was the responsibility of the agency to see that the aims were continued through effective leadership and direction. From the point of view of morale, also,

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1. Both are full-bloods and closely related.

some responsibility for its absence among many of the members of the reservation must be laid at the door of this type of school. No effective substitutes were given for the psychological satisfactions received from the old culture. Instead, the result of the building up of an attempted white frame of reference resulted in much discouragement and the inception of what could easily be termed an acceptance of a status of inferiority among many of the school children.

The factors involved in the sending of children to these schools from 1892 on were these: the Indian Agent, in 1892, A. Simons had been wounded by an Assiniboine named Raider who was in hiding over the killing of another Indian. The agent soon died of complications caused by this wound and the Indians felt that they would be punished by the United States Army for the death of their agent, indirectly caused by one of their tribesmen. An army officer soon came to take charge, an individual known for his strict discipline. Braids were cut off all Indians and no Indian was even allowed to come for rations with his face painted. No protest was made by the Indians for they assumed that they were being punished for the death of the agent. Under this new regime of strictness that cowed most of the Indians, all the children on the reservation, both healthy and sick, were rounded up by the police force and sent either to the Mission school, or to the reservation boarding school:

> "Stiffarm, a Gros Ventre, had a boy my age. He told the tribe that he would not allow the boy to be taken, since he said the boy was too young to go to school. He said he would kill anyone who tried to take his boy away from him. The people got together and got Stiffarm to give his consent. The people didn't like the school, but due to the previous trouble most of the people had to keep quiet in order to prevent more trouble. That's why they accepted the school.
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> "The old people would talk in council and say that the younger people would break away from their people. The first time they took children away from home was in that same year, 1892, when they took some of the younger people to Carlisle.
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> "The government officials told the parents that the children would read and write and learn white ways and when they returned they would be leaders of the tribe. Even now when Many Coos and Talks Different speak at councils they say, 'We sent you young people to school so that you would be a help to us, as the white people claimed you would be. Even though you cried, we took you by the arm and led you to school. Now we need your help. There are many things we don't understand and we need you to help us understand them...'
>
> "The Assiniboine have not felt resentment against the whites because they have lost their old way of life. They agreed to become wards of the government, to be peaceful and to adopt the white ways. Most of the old people have resigned themselves to the taking over of white ways (1)."

Children that ran away from school were returned by the police and provisions were even made to keep many of the girls at school during the summer months, in order that they might have as little contact as possible with the roving camps.

Sam Redtail was one of the first to be taken to the mission school in 1892:

> "When I first went to school I knew nothing of whites. We were still wild in 1892. The first thing they did to me at school was to cut my braids. They then gave me woolen underwear, vest, pants, stockings and coat. I didn't like the clothes they gave me because they were covered with big patches. I cried a good deal, because I didn't want to wear those big patches on my seat and my knees. It didn't look good to me who was used to wearing good Indian clothes. At the same time, my father had bought me a white boy's suit of clothes at Glasgow just two years before. I realized that the clothes given me at school were old clothes and I was ashamed to be seen wearing them. I didn't want them on me at all, they were so poor.
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> "They gave me a bed on my first night at school. I wasn't used to wearing woolen underwear and it itched me terribly and I couldn't sleep and my hair itched from being cut off. I could hear the sound of wind in my ears for many days after my hair was cut off.
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> "Some of us kids were pretty much scared when we were taken to school. We cried a good deal when we were

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1. Simon Firstshoot

taken away from our folks. The only exception was Mrs. Firstsound. When they came to take her away in a wagon, she sang the warrior's death song, in order to show that she wasn't afraid.

"I knew no English at that time and when I first went into the class room, they taught me my ABC's right from the start. They had a large chart on the wall and we all had to repeat the letters after the teacher, although we didn't have the slightest idea what they meant. Chopwood, Coming Day's son and myself got together after that first day and we decided that wasn't English at all. We were disappointed because we thought they were going to teach us to speak English. They taught us prayers in English, although we didn't know what they meant. Every morning before breakfast we went to mass. The priest preached to us, although we didn't know what he was talking about. We always thought we were being scolded when we listened to this preaching and we were pretty much scared whenever the priest came to talk to us. The school did us some good. We learned to split wood, haul it and bank it for the school room and the kitchen and it taught us how to wor..

"We weren't allowed to speak Assiniboine at school. If any teacher heard us speak our language, they punished us by making us stay after school and write fifty, one hundred or two hundred times on the black board: 'I must not talk Indian.' No Indian boy wanted to stay in during recess writing that, and the result was that once or twice was enough for us. If we still continued talking Indian, we were made to go without supper, until we stopped. However, among ourselves, when we saw that there was no teacher watching us, we spoke Indian. Henry Chopwood was our interpreter for the Gros Ventre boys, since he could speak both Gros Ventre and Assiniboine.

"During farming time, they picked out a number of us, called 'Garden Boys.' We went into the fields and we worked with the lay brothers. They did all the plowing, but they taught us how to plant corn, potatoes and other vegetables. All the weeding we had to do ourselves and the boy who picked the most potato bugs and eggs got a prize. We used to put all the bugs in a can of water to be counted at the end of the day. Four prizes were given each day. The prizes were always a rosary, a little prayer-book, or a holy picture.

"They also used to have the boys take turns herding sheep. These boys would stay with the sheep about a week, return and two other boys would take their places. The result was that we all learned how to herd sheep.

"They also made us pick limestones for a lime kiln. We had picks and crowbars to dig out the limestone. We would then put it in a wagon, bring it to the kiln, burn the limestone and get lime. Two boys, a small boy and a big boy were picked to carry wood for the fire. At the same time, all of us had to do odd jobs around the school. We would have liked this very much, if they hadn't been so strict with us.

"Our schedule for the week ran like this: We had all day school on Monday, half-day school on Tuesday, full day on Wednesday, half-day on Thursday, full day on Friday, and half-day on Saturday. Whenever we went to school for a half-day, we spent the rest of the day at work. On Saturday afternoon they took us on hikes through the Mission canyon, so that we could learn the English names for the flowers and the bugs. We used to like those hikes.

"Whenever we did things that we weren't supposed to do, we got whipped. If we got in fights, we got a pretty bad whipping. A lot of the kids used to run away from school because of these whippings, but the police were always sent to pick them up. The whippings used to make us feel terribly ashamed, because we were never whipped at home. A lot of our parents used to complain about the whippings we kids got, but it never did any good. Those whippings made us pretty much scared of any white man around the school, because any one of them could whip us if he saw us doing anything he didn't like."

However, one pattern that was continued by these individuals who had a few years of schooling was that of encouraging their children to take advantage of the educational opportunities existing on the reservation. The few years of schooling obtained, along with the lack of an aboriginal cultural barrier was sufficient to modify the pre-reservation culture considerably by 1910.

Turning to the present, changes have occurred in the reservation educational system. The only boarding

school existing on the reservation now is that of the St. Paul's Mission school at Hays. Even this school is forced to face competition from the consolidated public school at Hays. Many of the Gros Ventre families, staunch Catholics, are now sending their children to public school, rather than to the mission school, due to the feeling that better instruction is obtained at the former.

Under the allotment act of 1921, some nineteen thousand acres of reservation lands were turned over to the State of Montana as school lands. Schools, teachers and text-boods for the children on the reservation are furnished by the State of Montana, the last government school, at the agency, being closed in the spring of 1934. The rate paid per pupil for all the schools is that of fifty cents per day for tuition and fifteen cents per day for lunch, payment being computed on actual attendance. Until a few years ago, many of the schools off the reservation refused to take in reservation children, since no payment of tuition was made by the Indian Office. Since then, a rate of forty-five cents per day per pupil has been paid.

There are six schools for the children on the reservation: Harlem, Lodgepole, Hays, Beaver Creek, Kirkaldie and Big Warm. With the exception of the Harlem Schools, all the other schools named are supported entirely by government tuition, although they remain under the direction and control of county district school boards. Of the three members of the school district that embraces both Lodgepole and Hays, but two Indians, Victor Brockie and Rufus Warrior are found on the board. Beaver Creek, Kirkaldie and Big Warm are under the school-boards of Phillips County, although all the pupils in the schools mentioned are Indian children. Three teachers are employed at Hays to teach the eight grades, two teachers at Lodgepole and one teacher each in the other reservation schools. Children along the Milk River Valley attend either the Harlem, or the Dodson public schools, the last day-school along the river being closed in the spring of 1935.

For those school children from Lodgepole, or Hays, attending high school at Harlem, fifteen dollars per month are allotted them for board at Harlem. Due to lack of funds, many children were taken away from high school a month after school opened, since parents could not pay the board themselves for their children. This sudden shutting off of funds from the Indian Office angered many of the residents of the reservation, since many of them felt that the lack of educational funds would put an end to the number of Indian children attending high school. Many even attacked the Reorganization Act as typical of what could be expected: the withdrawal of funds and the ineffectiveness of the Act. The drive behind the attendance of high school is but recent in time, dating back but five years. For the first high school pioneers there had been ridicule on the part of the other young, ridicule that they were attempting to be whites in order to be "stuck-up." The ridicule had ceased during my summer's stay, although some jealousy existed on the part of the young who were unable to go. Thus, of the 145 pupils attending the consolidated high school at Harlem, some 30 were Indians from the reservation. 1935 was the first year in which Indian children in numbers began to attend high school.

But two Indians from the reservation graduated from the Harlem high school in 1934; namely Barbara O'Bryan and Mary Kirkaldie, both mixed-blood girls. Previously the number attending high school numbered about four or five, these being all mixed-blood; no full blood boy or girl having yet graduated from high school, although in the fall of 1935, full-blood children in numbers went to high school for the first time.

At the high school, the marks of the Indian children were found to be not as high as that of the white children, although many of them were found to be improving in their class room studies. At the same time, there was a marked increase in the number of Indian children participating in extra-curricular activities. The fact that fraternities and sororities were not permitted meant less opportunity for the white children to discriminate against their Indian class mates. Although a strong dislike existed against Indian children at this school some five years ago, much of it has practically disappeared; there being but a few white children who still refused to participate in activities with Indian children. At school parties, both groups attended, with much friendliness in existence. An index of their growing influence was evidenced in the school council elections in the fall of 1935. Of the nine student representatives elected, three were Indians. In the school band were found Indian children out of all proportion to their numbers; the same thing being true of the athletic club. Much opposition had existed among the parents of the white children against the allowing of children from the reservation to attend school with their children. Leader of this white opposition was one, Carl Delvin, employed as a

supervisor by the reservation Roads Department, who had been much aroused over the marriage of his daughter to one of the intelligent mixed-bloods of the reservation. The majority of the white residents of Harlem had, however, voted to admit the Indian children to their schools, since this prejudice against the Indian existed mainly among a few of the recent comers to the town.

Interestingly enough, the pattern behind the drive to encourage Indian children to attend high school was definitely of white origin. Joe Tucker crystallized this drive in a conversation with me one evening. He was continuously after his children to earn high marks at grade school, in order that they be eligible for high school. The remarks for this need of a higher education could have come from any white parent around the reservation: he was anxious that his children attend school so that they would not need to "break their backs over a plow and pick axe and shovel the way I do now."

> "My children seem to think I scold and advise them just for the fun of it. They don't realize it's for their own benefit. There are a lot of good jobs opening up on the reservation and I want them to be prepared to take those jobs. Last year, when the relief workers' office was started at the agency, Mrs. Cassutt came down here and wanted to know whether we had any bookkeepers or typists among our children. We told her that we hadn't. There were three jobs up there that could have been taken by our children if they had only been trained.
>
> "The Assiniboine are on the up and up. Each generation is having a much better education. Those of my age, that is, around forty-five and fifty years, just went from the second to the sixth grades. Our parents didn't want to push us too much, saying that as long as we learned to read and write that was enough. Now look at the younger people: almost all of them are going through the eighth grade and quite a few of them are going to high-school. Soon, the next generation will have quite a few who will have gone to college."

Since many of the students are attending high school, or schools, such as Haskell, Flandreau and Chemawa with the idea of learning trades and professions that will eventually net them positions around the agency, a real problem will need to be faced within a few years in the adjustment of the graduated student to the stock-raising conditions on the reservation, since there will not be enough work to take care of the growing numbers who are receiving a specialized training. Due to the economic situation on the outside, there may be little possibility of leaving the reservation and much of the business training received in shorthand, bookkeeping and typing may be of little value for the time spent in preparation for positions that will not materialize for all.

Since the instruction in the reservation schools has been designed primarily for white children living in the rural districts of Montana, a certain amount of foreignness in materials has resulted. As an example of the type of instruction received by the reservation children, much time was spent at the Lodgepole school in reading Socrates, Aristotle and the Greek philosophers, with time spent in the lower grades in reading of the "savagery" of Indians and how they tortured prisoners, this by lower-grade full-blood children!

The schedule for the upper grades at the Lodgepole school ran as follows:

9:00	Opening Exercises
9:10	5th, 6th, & 7th grade reading
9:40	8th grade reading
10:00	Health talk
10:20	Penmanship
10:30	Recess
10:40	Arithmetic
11:40	Agriculture and Civics
12:00	Lunch
1:00	History
1:50	Grammar
2:30	Recess
3:10	Spelling
3:30	Music

Twenty-two pupils occupied the upper grades at Lodgepole, these being divided into eight in the eighth grade, one in the seventh, the sixth grade had six, while the fifth grade had seven pupils. All these grades were taught in one room, the teacher shifting from grade to grade each fifteen minutes. Forty-two children were in the lower grades under a separate teacher. On a visit to this school I found the first grade busily singing, "Old Black Joe," "Home Sweet Home" and "America." The second grade was occupied in the reading of adventures of Tom and Helen on the farm, with their surprising contacts. On the other hand, the problems of the third grade were more practical, theirs was the reading of how petroleum becomes a source for gasoline and kerosine. The fourth grade in geography had for its textbook, "Home Life in Far Away Lands" and the little full-blood children in that grade were

asked questions on "Bombo," a little Congo boy, what he ate, how he slept and how he lived. Four pages of this material were read daily, with the result that a confused and vague array of "Bombos," "Pietros" and other such characters passed before children who had never seen any of them in the flesh.

The fifth grade had "Socrates" as their topic of instruction, his life and his vague philosophy. The sixth grade's history lesson had to do with the Greek gods and Mount Olympus, while the lesson for the next day was that on "Aristotle." Much of this material being so foreign to the children, it was easily forgotten. Most of the instruction received had little contact with the actual life of the actual life of the child on the reservation. Material on the Greek gods were part of lessons that needed to be prepared, to be forgotten and dismissed as soon as the teacher had finished questioning the pupils. To expect these children to evolve an interest in abstruse Greek philosophers was to expect much from a superficial educational system, such as that in existence in these reservation day schools.

The seventh grade had for its topic the Civil War and characteristically enough when the question, "Where did the underground railway get its name?" was asked of the most intelligent girl at Lodgepole, the answer was, "Because they dug tunnels." The eighth grade composed itself of youngsters from fourteen to seventeen years of age, who were busy answering questions concerning the Dred Scott decision.

Of all textbooks used in the upper grades, but one, "Western Agriculture" could have had any practical value. No sewing, nor cooking, nor wood-work were taught the youngsters of the upper grades. Due to the tendency to "educate" the children, material was taught that would be far more suitable for a classical high school course, than for a group of children who were to spend their days on a reservation.

Thus, among the questions asked among the seventh grade pupils was one dealing with the "division of occupation" of the American populace. Like parrots, the children quoted the portions of the text book they had memorized, although careful questioning of the students after school elicited the fact that not one child knew what was meant by that term, as well as other technical economic terms used by the textbook on "Social Science", nor, for that matter, did the teacher himself know. Even I had difficulty in following the questions asked, yet this was part of the school instruction.

One bad psychological feature discovered in this schoolroom instruction was the tendency of the teacher to turn hurriedly from one pupil to another whenever a question was asked that could not be answered. Even were this procedure a sound one, at least some time should have been given to enable the child to collect his thoughts. Due to the shyness of many of these pupils, such teaching methods tended to inhibit the child all the more, since by being unable to answer many of the questions, their feeling was that they were being ridiculed by the other children. Especially did this become all the more pronounced when the teacher turned to one pupil and said, "Viola, you've done your lessons, haven't you? Suppose you tell Joe here what the answer is." To many of the victims of this type of instruction, school became a torture from which they could be released only by inventing rationalizations why they had had enough "learning."

Another bad feature of the crowded grades was the little time spent with each course of study. Thus, after the fifth grade had read about cooperation in their civics book, all of which, with the remarks of the teacher, took exactly six minutes, the teacher left to supervise the arithmetic work of the sixth grade. Within a few minutes the teacher wandered over to the eighth grade to correct their written arithmetic work. Within a half hour, the seventh grade had their work in civics, actually economic geography. Five minutes in all was spent upon the text of how a woolen suit of clothes came to be. It puzzled me that any instruction in geography and history should be given at all, if such little time was to be spent skipping from one topic to another. The results of this superficial education were evidenced in speaking to Luella Tucker.

Luella Tucker, fourteen years of age and in the seventh grade, impressed me as one of the most intelligent of the younger children at Lodgepole. Her knowledge of geography was woefully inadequate. I had known her for some time when I asked her in which direction she would place Nevada and New York City. Nevada was east, while New York City was south. The Himalaya Mountains were in Pennsylvania (confusing this with the Alleghenies). Siberia, she felt, was somewhere in Asia, although she didn't know whether it was south or east of China. The words "Declaration of Independence" meant nothing to her, although she had just finished a text book on American history. She had no idea as to what the population of the United States

might be, nor that of Montana, nor that of New York City, although these populations were given in the text book on economic geography (along with data on the tonnage leaving the harbors of New York City and Boston), displayed on each youngster's desk. I asked her to guess the population of New York City. Her answer was that of sixty thousand. She evidently had read a bit about New York City, for when I asked her whether she would like to live there, her answer was negative; too many girls were drugged and kidnapped on the streets of New York City. Luella has never read any books, outside of the text books used at school. No library of fiction is had at the school house, with the result that no habit of reading books has been introduced among the young. The reading matter of the young was mainly confined to the True Story Magazine, True Romances, True Detective Stories, True Confessions, Screen Stories, Motion Pictures and Snappy Stories, all of which are sold at the Lodgepole store. The newspapers read are the Sunday Chicago American, the Seattle Post-Intelligence and the Denver Post, all of which appear at Lodgepole a week before their publication date. The comics and the magazine sections with their spectacular stories form the main reasons for their demand. Liberty, Collier's and the Saturday Evening Post are distributed to various homes by the employees at the agency, but these fail to elicit the response that the above-named magazines do. Luella is a loyal reader of True Story magazine, both she and her sister, age sixteen, buying a copy each month at the store. True Detective stories are read by the young boys, who, like their parents, are much interested in criminal sensationalism (Simon, my interpreter, named one of his horses after Pretty Boy Floyd, the Oklahoma outlaw).

Due to the distance to Harlem from Lodgepole, attendance at movies is infrequent, although much enjoyed. Favorite films are comedies, mystery pictures, serials and musical comedies. When David Copperfield played at Harlem it was much enjoyed by the Indians in attendance, as was Charlie Chan in Egypt. Bible slides are boring to the young and the Presbyterian missionary at Lodgepole was unable to drum up much attendance when he attempted to display them. Many complaints have been made by the parents that movies are ruining the children, that the young people are learning to make love in imitation of the great movie lovers and that a number of young boys always become more unmanageable after having viewed a gangster film. Simon Firstshoot feared that conditions on the reservation would soon become like that of Fort Peck, where no Indian could resist a movie. As it is, most of the patrons at the movie house at Harlem were composed of young Indians from the river district, who would come to town once a week, primarily to see a movie.

Like white children, recess time at school meant marble-playing by the boys and walking arm in arm by the girls. In games, little difference existed, basket-ball, sand-lot baseball and marbles being preferred by the boys, while hop scotch and skipping rope were engaged in by the girls.

Dances and Games

None of the aboriginal societal dances was in existence on the Belknap Reservation during the summer of 1935. The Sun-Dance given by the Assiniboine formed the only remaining remnant of the formalized culture of aboriginal days. The "Indian" dances still in existence were but acculturated forms of dances borrowed from other tribes. The Hand-Game, given only at Lodgepole, was but recent in origin, having been taken from the Arapaho in 1903.

The Owl-Dance was received from the Sioux of the Pine Ridge agency in 1920. The dance was based upon one of the victory social dances of the Sioux and the songs sung were of the defeat of the Germans in the World War; many of the songs dealt with the "power" of the Indian warriors over the German troops. The dance was changed to allow for women partners. Four young men sat around a large bass drum, drumming and singing, while the dancers attempted to accentuate each beat of the drum by placing their right foot forward. The steps were simple, being but the placing of the right foot first and bringing the left foot to the right, the right knee being flexed with each step. The dancers went clock-wise around the drummers, the man on the outside and the woman on the inside, with the man's right hand on the woman's shoulder and holding her right hand in his left. During the four and a half months of my stay on the reservation, this Owl-Dance was held but twice; once on the day following the Sun-Dance and the second time at the Gros Ventre fair at Hays, although at the latter, not enough dancers were had to make the dance successful. Interestingly enough, this dance was introduced by the young full-bloods, although at the present time it is the young full-blood who has broken away from the dance. It seemed doubtful to me that the Owl-Dance would last for many years on the reservation.

The Grass-Dance, or the Omaha

Dance was introduced to the Assiniboine by the Sioux in 1872. At one time this dance was owned by a society, whose members were the only ones allowed to participate in its dances. The dance brought good-luck to the Indians and was performed whenever any member of the society requested it. The dance was soon made part of the July fourth celebration at the agency grounds. A fundamental dancing pattern existed in this dance, although each dancer could invent his own variations, the main requisite being that the dancer keep time to the beats of the drum. The old men wore their war costumes and their steps were that of accentuated walks. The younger people were dressed in black and red tight-fitting cloth suits, adorned with sage grass and bells around the ankles, the bells being used to keep time to the singing and the drumming. This was the dance that impressed tourists as being a "war dance," due to the frenzy of the younger dancers. Like the Owl-Dance, this dance was performed but twice during the summer, along with the Owl-Dance.

The Sun-Dance was given on July second and third. The description was given in the section on aboriginal culture. Few individuals camped around the agency grounds while the Sun-Dance was given. The numbers were equally divided among the older Gros Ventre and Assiniboine and were not more than one hundred and fifty individuals at the most. The Sun-Dance grounds took on a carnival appearance, for scattered near the Sun-Dance lodge were numerous lunch concessions, run by whites, where hamburg sandwiches, coffee and lemonade were sold to the campers and to the visitors. Due to the age of the dancers, the dance lasted only one day and one night, for fear of exhausting the old people. The feeling was had that within two or three years this Sun-Dance would be a thing of the past, since few of the younger people took an interest in the proceedings. At the same time, attendance at this dance was cut down by the competition of nearby rodeos and fairs.

However, dances were given about every two weeks by various groups on the reservation. These were all dances of white origin. Many of the younger people from the river district attended the dances given by the various groups at Harlem, while the E.C.W.dances given at Hays attracted most of the young people from the southern end of the reservation.

A "white" dance was given on the date of my leaving Lodgepole for the river district, August thirtieth, 1935. Notices were placed at the agency, at the E.C.W. camp at Hays and at the various stores on the reservation. About eighty people attended, including many from the agency and the Hays districts. The musicians were three Indians: Harry Healey, pianist, Bud Healey, violinist and Edward Snell, guitarist, all having picked up their instruments without formal instruction. The dance started at nine in the evening and lasted until five the next morning. The dances employed were the waltz, the fox trot, the quadrille and the square dance. All of the younger people made a pretence at dancing, even though it meant walking around the floor in time to the music. Cutting-in was not permitted, while the girl was given the right to decide whether or not she wanted to dance with the male requestor. The parents of the young people participated in the square dance, although at the other dances they sat on the side lines watching. Dancing stopped at midnight for a short intermission during which lunch was served, the dancing soon resuming to last until daylight.

The first hand-game of the season was given by me during the middle of August at Lodgepole. Some seventy persons were represented, both young and old, although few mixed bloods came. This game was calledthe "Indian religion" by inveterate players, such as Henry Chopwood, August Mocassin and Many Coos. No gambling was permitted at this game, since the game was given by the Great Spirit to his son, Christ, who in turn passed it to the Indians. Games were given on the basis of vows and were for the purpose of interceding with the Great Spirit that good health be given to the players and to the individuals making the vows. Eugene Gunn had vowed that he would give a hand game were his wife to come out of a gall-stones operation alive. Since his wife came out of the hospital in good health, he gave his game one week after I had given mine. Mine was given that I might have success in my ethnological work on the reservation (1).

Fairs and rodeos were very popular with the residents on the reservation. The attendance at these fairs has been increasing during the past few years, there being few individuals on the reservation who miss attending even one of these fairs. Thus, at the time of the Gros Ventre fair at Hays on August tenth to the twelfth, Lodgepole took on a deserted air, since most of the Assiniboine had taken their tents

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1. I have been informed that my handgame acted as an impetus toward the revival of this game on the reservation.

and belongings to the Hays fair-grounds.

The first of the Indian fairs was started at Hays in 1906. The fair was initiated by superintendent Logan in order to start a substitute for the Sun-Dance, the "fair" idea being adopted from the one developed by the Crow Indian Agency a few years previous. This Gros Ventre fair proved so successful, that the Assiniboine in 1922 petitioned the Indian Office to set aside a portion of land near the agency for fair purposes. These fairs are all that their name implies. Concessions are given to lunch and ice cream stands, side shows, merry-go-rounds, professional boxers and wrestlers and dollar-a-trip airplanes. Both young and old crowd the concession grounds to spend whatever little money they have been able to save up. My old informants, First Sound and Returning Hunter, were two of the inveterate fans at the staged wrestling matches put on by an outside promoter. At the same time there were horse-racing, bronco-busting, and the prizes for the best costume, the prettiest baby and the best dancer. Two fairs are held on the reservation each summer, each being managed by a committee of three who handle concessions and finances. The Gros Ventre fair is given at Hays on August tenth, while the Assiniboine fair is given at the agency two weeks later.

The attractions in fairs and rodeos are by no means infrequent in the summer months. The first week in July is given over to the Sun-Dance celebration and the Wolf Point Stampede. The middle of July brings the four day Pioneer celebration at Harlem. The Hays fair takes place after the first week in August, to be followed by the Dodson fair and the Agency fair. Then comes the Lewistown and the Chinook fairs, the Helena, Great Falls and Havre fairs along with a host of others, all within easy travelling distance of the reservation. One main basis of complaint among many of the Indians was that not enough money is had by these to enjoy all the fairs that are held in the summer months. My interpreter, Sam Redtail, spent over $20 within three days at the Harlem Pioneer Days, with the result that he was compelled to economize at the other fairs. Fairs were also of great interest to the young, for attendance meant ice-cream cones, popcorn, soft drinks and hamburger and frankfurter sandwiches to be bought out of parental funds.

Basketball games proved very popular during the winter months, there being several teams made up of young men from different portions of the reservation competing with one another and with outside teams. Two teams were made up entirely of women. At the same time, baseball was represented by a team coached by Lizziam Archambeau, the chief of police. These also played outside teams with a fair degree of success.

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A condensed outline of the culture on the Fort Belknap reservation has been presented. My four and a half months stay was insufficient to do more than present an outline; not enough time being had to make a more detailed study of the process by which culture-change among the various individuals on the reservation is going on at present. The purpose of the paper has been both a descriptive and an interpretive one; to describe and trace the various cultural changes that have occurred in the lives of the Assiniboine of the Fort Belknap reservation, both in aboriginal times and in the present. Little can be said in conclusion except to note that the trends in culture among the young seem to be continuing. If the changes described have taken place during one living generation, some index is had of the rapidity of changes that may occur during the next forty years. With the absence of any cultural inhibition, it can be predicated that cultural assimilation may come to the next two generations of young Assiniboine with individual variations equaling that of whites surrounding the reservation.